
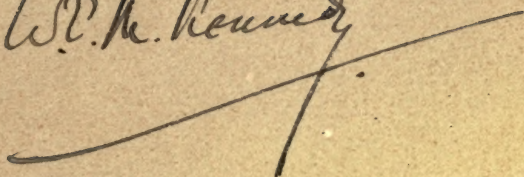




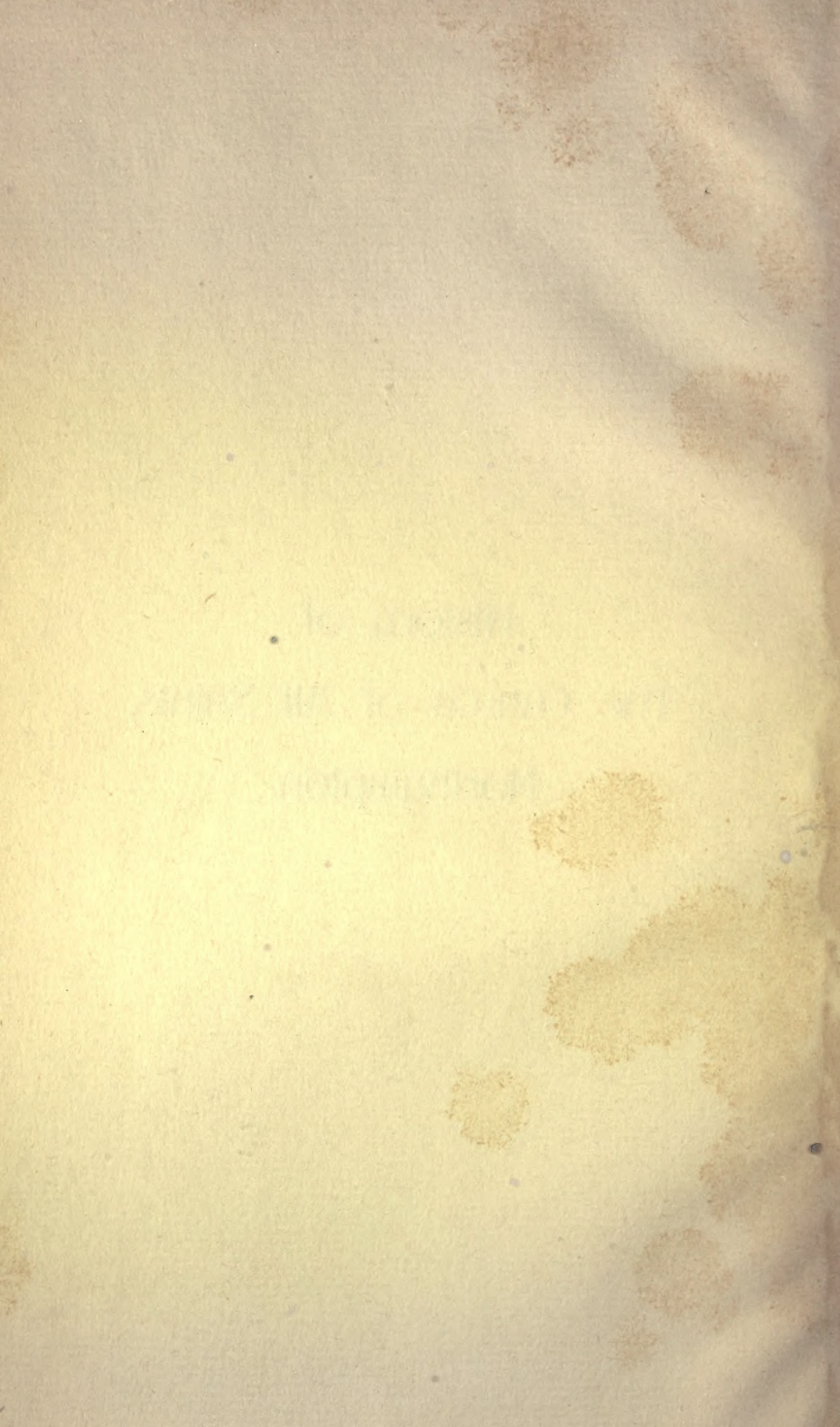
HISTORY
OF
THE CHVRCH
OF ALL SAINTS 
NORTHAMPTON

7/1/20

W.D. M. Kennedy



History of
The Church of All Saints,
Northampton.





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THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, NORTHAMPTON.

A HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF
ALL SAINTS,
NORTHAMPTON.

BY

THE REV. R. M. SERJEANTSON, M.A.

ILLUSTRATED BY THOMAS SHEPARD, Esq.

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—
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The coats of arms which form the head and tail pieces of the first fourteen chapters are those of the principal actors in the respective chapters; those at the head of chapter xv. are from monuments still existing in the church, and were borne by the families of (1) Rushworth and Danvers; (2) Sargeant; (3) Travell and Gore. The tail piece at the end of chapter xv. and all the succeeding head and tail pieces (except tail piece of chapter xx.) are from drawings made by William Belcher (died 1609) of heraldic glass formerly in the church of All Saints. The arms at the head of chapter xvii. are those of Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund; at the head of chapter xviii. are the arms of Percy, Beaufort, and Fitz-alan.

PREFACE.

IF from a perusal of these pages the parishioners of All Saints are led to take a deeper interest in the history of their old church, the writer's object will have been fully attained.

In a work of this description a certain number of errors are almost inevitable, but the utmost care has been taken by verifying every reference and by seeking the help of experts in matters of difficulty, to render these as few as possible. The mere compilation of the list of vicars has involved a vast amount of labour, and has rendered necessary frequent visits to the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian and Lambeth Palace Libraries, and the Diocesan Registries of Lincoln and Peterborough. The result, however, has been the addition of fifteen hitherto unrecorded names to the list of vicars.

Much of the information with regard to the Puritans is here printed verbatim for the first time; and the same may be said with regard to the chapters on Gilds, and on Pre-Reformation chapels and altars. The long-vexed question as to the exact locality of the Holy Rood in the Wall is set at rest in the eighth chapter, an extract from the Patent Rolls proving incontestably that the once famous Rood was in the church of St. Gregory, Northampton.

The shields of arms which form the head and tail pieces of the first fourteen chapters are those of the principal actors in the respective chapters; those at the head of chapter xv. are from monuments still in the church; while the remainder are taken from sketches made by William Belcher (in the seventeenth century), of the heraldic glass which formerly adorned the church of All Saints.

Acknowledgment is due to the (late) Canon Hull and to Mrs. Hull for much help and encouragement at the outset of the work; and to the Rev. F. N. Thicknesse and the churchwardens of All Saints for kindly affording every facility for the searching of their registers and records; to the Town Clerk of Northampton for permission to examine the municipal records; to Messrs. Grove and Stroulger, of the Northampton Probate Office; and to Messrs. Gates and Smith, of the episcopal registries of Peterborough and Lincoln.

These pages are also much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., for reading over the proof sheets and for many valuable suggestions and corrections; to Mr. T. Shepard, for the production of the heraldic head and tail pieces of the various chapters, and for the sketches and notes on pages 277-281; to Mr. C. A. Markham, F.S.A., for the plan of the church and for several drawings; to Mr. W. D. Crick, Mr. Clarke, and the late Mr. John Taylor, for the loan of papers and manuscripts; and to the Northampton and Oakham Architectural Society for permission to reproduce several drawings and plans of the Crypt and Tower.

From Messrs. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., R. P. Brereton, and M. H. Holding, much valuable assistance has been received in architectural matters; and from Messrs. Hardy and Page, The Rev. W. M. Noble, The Rev. W. D. Sweeting, Mr. Buckley, (of the MS. department of the British Museum), and Mr. L. Withington, in the examination of documents and manuscripts.

Lastly, the author desires to express his gratitude to Mr. Bruce B. Muscott and other friends for much kindly help; and to Mr. Thompson, the sexton of All Saints, for his unvarying courtesy and assistance.

ST. SEPULCHRE'S,
NORTHAMPTON,
DEC. 1ST, 1901.



CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH.

THE Church of All Saints, Northampton, in its present state cannot, of course, compare with the architectural features of its neighbours St. Sepulchre's and St. Peter's, in their successive development, nevertheless the great central church of the town is far richer, as might be expected, in historical incidents than any other church of this ancient borough, or even of the whole county, with the solitary exception of Peterborough Minster.

It was here that the English Barons swore fealty to Matilda in the days of Henry I.; it was here too that the great St. Hugh of Lincoln quelled a serious riot of the Northampton burghers. The next century saw the King's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and a host of other magnates place their hands upon the high altar, swearing to set out on the seventh crusade. In the fourteenth century the Convocation of the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury was held here on several occasions; and the forces of Lollardism came into violent conflict with the orthodox authorities. The fifteenth century saw a remarkable development of the Gilds and the foundation of a college of secular clergy. In the consistory court of this church one of the Marian martyrs was condemned to be burnt, and there is no other church in the whole of England round which

centres so many stirring incidents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries connected with an aggressive and determined Puritanism. The great fire of 1675 brought about national efforts to effect the restoration of this fabric. The same century saw several men of great subsequent distinction holding office as vicars of All Saints. From first to last the story of the central church of any English town has its civic importance, and this is specially true in the history of the great church of Northampton, which was for centuries among the most notable towns of the whole kingdom.

The re-conversion of England in the seventh century was far more rapid in the great central district of Mercia than in any other part of the kingdom. The work was also more permanent, and, as Professor Freeman remarks, the people of Mercia, unlike other converts in Yorkshire, East Anglia, Essex and Kent, never relapsed into heathenism. It was in 653 that "the Mid Anglians under Ealdorman Paeda received the orthodox faith."* The missionaries from the north "preached the word and were willingly listened to, and many as well of the nobility as of the common sort, renouncing the abominations of idolatry were baptised [*fonte salvatoris ablutos*] daily."† The extent of Paeda's territory colonised by the Middle English is manifest from the choice made by him and his missionary advisers of the two first Christian stations of Repton in Derbyshire, and Peterborough at the eastern extremity of Northamptonshire. In the succeeding reign of Wulfhere, after an interval of only a few years, it is clear that Christian settlements, mainly of a monastic type, were scattered throughout the county from north to south, for the purposes of general evangelisation. From the early importance of the county town of Northampton, it seems reasonable to assume that next after Peterborough and Brixworth this town, from the importance of its site, would be selected as a centre of Christian work. If the somewhat doubtful authority of Ingulphus is to be trusted, the first establishment of Christianity here was at the afterwards famous Priory of St. Andrew. There can, however, be no hesitation in

* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

† Bede iii. 2.

believing that Northampton possessed several churches of a quasi-parochial character a century or two before the Norman Conquest; nor need there be much doubt that the central one of All Saints occupied a portion of the site of the present fabric.

The town was burnt by the Danes in 1010. It was speedily rebuilt, but again to a great extent laid waste by fire and sword in 1064. Recovery from this last calamity was slow, for at the time of the Domesday Survey (1087) many of the houses were still in a ruinous condition and uninhabited. The survey mentions under the royal lands that "The King has in the demesne of Portland two carucates and two parts of a third carucate and twelve acres of meadow. One carucate of land belongs to the church of St. Peter and half a carucate to the church of All Saints." This is the first historic mention of the church whose story is told in the following pages. It is true that this Domesday passage does not expressly state that these two churches belonged to Northampton; it is also true that the Survey mentions churches dedicated both to St. Peter and to All Saints at Aldwinckle and at Rushton, but the statement in the same passage as to "nine pounds and twelve shillings for other issues of the town" cannot apply to either of these two villages. Portland probably lay to the south of the town in Far Cotton, where an Elizabethan survey of the town lands mentions Port Lane as a boundary of the Moor Field pertaining to Cotton.

There are evidences in the fabrics themselves of two of the Northampton churches (St. Sepulchre's and St. Peter's) of pre-Norman work. Unfortunately there is nothing of the kind that has as yet been discovered with regard to the stones of All Saints, but nevertheless the intelligent student of our local history will be troubled with no doubts as to the original existence of a Saxon church under the name of All Saints, Northampton. The earliest known charter conferred by Simon de St. Liz and Maud his wife on the Priory of St. Andrew, grants, among other numerous gifts of lands and churches "the church in which they worship, and all "other churches of the town with their appurtenances." The witnesses to this undated charter, though numerous, do not enable us to ascertain the year with exact pre-

cision, but it was at all events before 1090 and not earlier than 1084. A confirmatory charter dated 1108 is an imposing document on account of the high position of most of the witnesses who included amongst their number, King Henry, Queen Matilda, David of Scotland, Archbishop Anselm, and the Bishops of Lincoln, Chester, Rochester, and London. In this case the church of All Saints is specifically mentioned as evidently being the most important Christian fabric of the town outside the walls of the Priory. It is the only church to which a name is assigned. The actual words of the charter are: *Ipsam ecclesiam omnium Sanctorum, et omnes ejusdem ville ecclesias.*

It may, we think, with reasonable probability, be conjectured that the old Saxon church of All Saints, damaged considerably in the onslaughts on the town of 1010 and 1064, would be rebuilt by the Earl of Northampton and the inhabitants, after the Norman fashion, before its formal transference to the Priory of St. Andrew.



THE SEAL OF THE PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW.



CHAPTER II.

ALL SAINTS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE first event to chronicle in the twelfth century with regard to this church is the fact of Simon de St. Liz II. bestowing on the Priory of St. Andrew a tenth of the profits arising from a fair held on All Saints' Day in the church and churchyard of All Saints. The fair must have been one of considerable importance to make a tithe of the profits worth mentioning in a priory charter. It also denotes that the nave of the church, as we might naturally expect, would be one of considerable proportions. At this period the use of the naves of parish churches for many a secular purpose was not considered irreverent. The removal of this fair is treated of in the next chapter.

It has been asserted by a modern writer that in the year 1131 the church of All Saints was the scene of an important historical event—when the barons of England swore fealty to the Empress Maud, upon whom the succession to the throne had been settled by her father, Henry I. It is also stated that in order to make the oath more binding, it was sworn upon the high altar of All Saints. The only contemporary authority for this statement appears to be William of Malmesbury (born 1095 died 1142) who tells us in his *Historia Novella* that on September 8th, the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1131, "The empress appeared once more in her

native land and, in a great meeting of the barons at Northampton, caused the former oath of fealty to her which they had given (in 1127) to be renewed, and from those who had not previously sworn she received the oath."

No mention is made here of the church of All Saints, but if this oath was taken at Northampton, it is surely most probable that (as actually did happen just a hundred years later) it would be sworn before the high altar of the great church of the town.

Amongst those who swore fealty to the Empress Maud at Northampton was her cousin, Stephen of Blois, who was afterwards king. The Rev. Canon Hull, in an interesting short account of this church,* commenting on this incident, says:—"One of them, at least, afterwards perjured himself, for amongst those who took the oath was Stephen of Blois, who after Henry's death made war upon Maud, and placed the crown on his own head. One wonders how Stephen felt, and what guilty pangs of conscience were awoken in his heart by the sight of All Saints church when, five years afterwards, he held a council here as king."

Ecclesia de foro.

A short charter of Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln (1148—1183), describes All Saints as *ecclesia de foro in Northampton*. This means that All Saints was then known as the Church of the Market Place. The great church of St. Mary, Lichfield was similarly described as *in foro* or *de foro* in various documents of mediæval days. The date of Bishop Robert's charter must have been during the last three years of his episcopacy, as one of the witnesses was Abbot Walkelin, who ruled over St. James', Northampton from 1180 to 1205. It would seem clear from this description of All Saints, that at that time neither Mercers' Row nor any buildings on that site existed, but that the church was open to the Market Place.

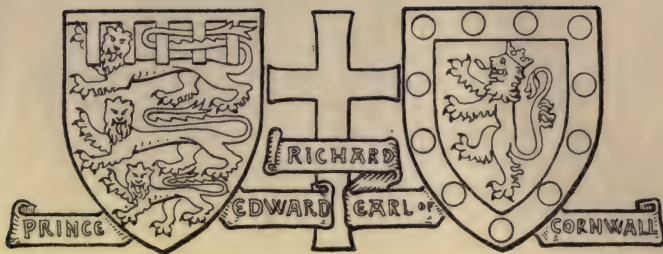
St. Hugh of Lincoln.

The first year of the reign of Richard I. (1189—90)

* Northampton Architectural Society's Report, 1881, p. 73.

was marked by serious anti-Jewish outbreaks in various parts of the country, and at Norwich, Stamford, and York, many of the unhappy Jews were put to death. At Stamford, one of the rioters named John had gathered an immense amount of plunder from the houses of the Jews, and in order to escape the notice of the King's officers, he carried it off to Northampton. Here he was robbed and murdered by the man in whose house he lodged, who threw the dead body over the walls, and decamped with his ill-gotten booty. The corpse was discovered in the morning, and the murderer was not even suspected. The crime was (perhaps not unnaturally, considering the excited state of men's minds) attributed to the Jews, and the dead man soon came to be looked upon as a martyr, who had fallen a victim to their hatred. Several miracles were reported to have been worked at his grave, and offerings were showered upon the tomb of a miscreant who had only met the due reward of his deeds. Northampton soon became a place of pilgrimage to the people of the surrounding neighbourhood, and the townsfolk found it to their advantage to perpetuate the fraud. Tidings of these things after a while reached the ears of the diocesan, the good Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards canonised as St. Hugh. He hurried at once to Northampton to put a stop to the imposture, and a serious riot ensued. The writer of the *Great Life* of St. Hugh cites his conduct on this occasion as an instance of his bravery. The burghers took possession of the great church, and while swords were flashing round him, and his attendant chaplains in their terror had taken refuge beneath the very altars, Hugh, bareheaded and unarmed, over-awed the rioters by his calm intrepidity and by the sternness of his rebukes. It would seem that the tomb of the reputed saint was within the church of All Saints, and it is recorded that the Bishop tore down the votive offerings and threatened to excommunicate anyone who should in future dare to worship there. His boldness had the desired effect and the imposture soon died out, to the consolation of right thinking men and to the relief of the unhappy Jews.*

* Thurstan's *Life of St. Hugh*.



CHAPTER III.

ALL SAINTS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE are several incidents of consequence to chronicle with regard to the history of All Saints in the thirteenth century.

In the second quarter of this century, when the beauties of English Gothic were generally superseding the heavier work of the Norman period in our larger edifices, the church of All Saints underwent considerable re-building, if not a complete reconstruction. On February 14th, 1232, Hugh Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, granted an Indulgence of twenty days to the contributors to the work of All Saints, Northampton. A step like this was never taken unless extensive and important work was in hand. On August 5th of the same year, the Bishop granted a similar Indulgence to all those who should contribute anything to the building or reparation of the church of the Blessed Mary at Ketton (Rutland), which was at that time ruinous.

Pope Innocent and the Churches of Northampton. 1201.

Among the manuscript charters in the Bodleian Library is an interesting document which shows that at least on one occasion All Saints and the other churches of Northampton came under the notice of Innocent III., one of the greatest of all the popes. It appears that certain of the parish churches of the town (without consulting their patrons, the Prior and Convent of St.

Andrew) had taken upon themselves to found chapels for divine offices to the prejudice of the convent. The monks appealed to Rome and the Pope issued a mandate upholding the rights of the convent, and commanding the incumbents to desist from their illegal practices. The mandate is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishops of London and Ely, and not, as might have been expected, to the Bishop of the Diocese, the reason being that the See of Lincoln was at this time vacant. This document, of singularly involved construction, may be thus translated.*

“Innocent, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Ely, greeting and apostolic benediction. A petition presented to us by our beloved sons the Prior and Monks of St. Andrew in Northampton, sets forth that though they canonically possess all the churches of the town—a right confirmed to them by authority of the Apostolic See—certain of the parishes to which these churches belong have taken upon themselves to found chapels, erect altars, and receive the parishioners at the divine offices, and for burial, to their (the monks) prejudice. Since, therefore, we wish that all should preserve their rights unimpaired, we command you by authority of these presents, that you delay not to compel by ecclesiastical censure those who have so far presumed, to cease henceforth, for the previously stated reason, from such rashness, warning having been given, the obstacle of appeal being removed, (none of our letters being prejudicial to truth and justice), even if they shall put in an appearance to ask [redress] from the Apostolic See.

“But if all of you are unable to attend to the carrying out of these things, two of you shall nevertheless carry them out.

“Given at the Lateran, March 25th, in the 4th year of our Pontificate [1201].”

The Dean of Northampton.

Among the witnesses to a grant of rents issuing out of the butchers' stalls in Northampton early in the thirteenth century, occur the names of Adam, Dean of

* For the transcript of the original, see Appendix I.

Northampton, and Roger, Deacon of the church of All Saints. During this century there are frequent references to the Dean of Northampton, and judging from the names associated with his, the office must have been one of considerable importance. For instance, in 1227 Pope Gregory IX. issued a mandate to the Priors of St. Andrew and St. James and the Dean of Northampton, to remove Nicholas, clerk, of the diocese of York, son of the late incumbent of Leek, from that church into which he had caused himself to be intruded, to the prejudice of the king, to whom the presentation belonged. It has been supposed that the title "Dean of Northampton" was one which was applied to the vicar of All Saints, as being incumbent of the great church of the town, but it can be proved conclusively that this was not the case, for among the Bridges' MSS. in the Bodleian Library, relating to the Abbey of St. James, is the record of a grant of property to Robert, Vicar of All Saints, which was witnessed, among others, by "John, then Dean of Northampton."

The first Dean of Northampton of whom we have found any mention, was one Henry, who witnessed the foundation charter of the hospital of St. David, Kingsthorpe, in the year 1200.

In the charters of the Abbey of St. James, the name of Walter de Hyldeburg, who was Rector of Little Billing 1263-1283, frequently occurs under the same designation. About the middle of the same century, we find a certain Roger holding this office.

The official in question was no doubt the holder of the ancient office of Rural Dean, a term which did not necessarily imply mere country surroundings, but was used to distinguish the beneficed priest appointed to supervise his brethren of the adjacent benefices, from the Dean or head of a collegiate church, or from the Dean of a "Peculiar." Thus there were in early times "Rural Deans" not only of all important English towns, but of such continental cities as Rouen, Cologne, and Antwerp. Their duties were very varied and included the presenting to the Bishop of non-residents and other offenders, both cleric and lay, and of collecting the taxes imposed on the clergy. The office was usually held for a comparatively short period and at the will of the diocesan. The Rural Dean was not necessarily beneficed within

his own deanery. In addition to the Dean of Northampton, charters relative to the religious houses of the town in the thirteenth century, include among their witnesses, the Deans of Billing, Dodford, and Patteshall.

The Fair at All Saints. 1236.

The holding of a fair in All Saints church, as has been already mentioned, dates back to very early times. In the days of the Red King (1087—1100) it seems to have been well established, and to have brought in a considerable revenue to the royal coffers. As time went on, however, the evils attendant upon such a state of things came home to men's minds, and at length, at the request of the saintly Bishop Grosseteste, Henry III. in 1235, ordered that for the future the fair should be removed from the church and churchyard of All Saints, and be held in "a void and waste place to the north of the church"—the present Market Square.

The *Close Rolls* of 1235 contain the following entry with reference to this order:—

"The King to his bailiffs of Northampton.

"Know ye that We being unwilling that from henceforth any market or fair shall be held in the churchyard or church of All Saints, saving only this instant fair in the place aforesaid, have however, appointed and commanded that the market and fair of our town of Northampton from henceforth shall be held in the void and waste place of the said town on the north part of the said church. And therefore, We command you to proclaim this in your instant market days and hereafter to cause it firmly to be observed, not permitting any merchant after these markets to sell in the said church and churchyard.

"Witness the King at Northampton, the 9th day of November."*

Acting upon this mandate, Bishop Grosseteste issued the following letter to the archdeacons of his large diocese, which in those days stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and included the Archdeaconries of Lincoln, Leicester, Stowe, Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, and Bedford:—

* *Close Rolls*, 20, Henry III., memb. 24.

“ Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved sons in Christ, the Archdeacons of the Diocese of Lincoln, health, grace, and blessing.

“ Know ye that our lord the King has lately at Northampton, after a brief and short exhortation, given his gracious assent, and approved and granted that for the future merchants in their markets at Northampton shall not expose merchandise for sale, neither shall they buy or sell, either in the church or in the cemetery of All Saints, Northampton; himself alleging on this part, that the Lord expelled the buyers and sellers from the temple. He has further ordered that it should be proclaimed in the said markets by the town crier, that for the future no merchant shall presume to transact any business there (*i.e.* in the church). And we believe that our lord the King, from the same devotion and beneficence, will be pleased if elsewhere also, according to the Gospel precept, buyers and sellers are driven from sacred places.* Since, therefore, it pertains to our episcopal office, in imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, to expel and thrust out buyers and sellers from sacred places; lest we, who are bound to be more earnestly zealous for the house of the Lord, should be found in this respect somewhat lukewarm, and deserving to be spewed out of the mouth of Him who is the faithful witness and true, the beginning of the creation of God; and lest we, who, like Judas Maccabæus, are bound to purge the house of God from all abominations, should make houses and places of prayer by our consent a den of thieves (since he consents to evil who, when able to restrain and hinder evil, neglects to do so), we command you, as far as in you lies, in all monasteries and parochial churches of your Archdeaconry, to cause it to be strictly enjoined by our authority, that for the future no one presume, in peril of his salvation, contrary to the teaching of the Gospel, to expose merchandise for sale or transact any business in sacred places. Providing that this mandate, since it is not of man, but of the Gospel, be diligently observed, by putting gainsayers and rebels under the censure of the Church. Farewell.”*

In the same year, (1236) we find Bishop Grosseteste writing a second letter to his archdeacons, ordering

* Grosseteste's Letters (Roll Series). Letter xxi.

them to correct various abuses, among others the desecration of churches and churchyards by their being used for games! He orders this scandal to be at once put a stop to, on the ground that "holy places ought to be devoted to holy uses, and withdrawn from secular uses, much more from secular sports."

It is interesting to find at so early a date that the authorities of both Church and State took so determined a stand against the sacrilegious use of churches and churchyards. Their action may have had some little effect for a time, but the abuses continued in other parts of England for several centuries longer. "In the fifteenth century, the inside of Poule's [St. Paul's Cathedral] like that of York Minster, Westminster Abbey, Exeter Cathedral, and probably every large church in the country was a common market, with all its accompaniments of noise and filth." In St. Paul's, too, each sergent-at-law "had a pillar allotted to him in the nave, on the north side, as his recognized rendezvous for advising his clients. The centre aisle in the nave, known afterwards as Paul's Walk, was the great meeting place at midday for hiring and gossip. Tables for scribes were provided there for the accommodation of the public, who were represented by a waltzing, jangling, brawling, fighting, and bargaining throng of book-hawkers, beggars, budget-makers, and lazy idlers, who played palm or tennis in the church, or pelted rooks and pigeons within the great walled cemetery outside."*

Miracle plays and sometimes secular dramas were performed in the naves of our parish churches, and even the Morris-dancers occasionally found their way into the sacred edifice, during divine service, and interrupted the officiating minister.

With regard to feasting in church, much has been written on the subject of church ales, clerk ales, bid ales, etc., which were held with a view of raising funds for various religious objects. Funeral banquets, too, were not infrequently held in the sacred building after the religious ceremony was over, or even on the following Sunday. To quote a single instance, Margaret

* History of England under Henry IV. by J. H. Wylie, M.A., vol. ii., p. 184-5.

Atkinson, by her will dated October 18th, 1544, orders that "The next Sunday after her burial there be provided two dozens of bread, a kilderkin of ale, two gammons of bacon, three shoulders of mutton and two couples of rabbits, desiring all the parish, as well rich as poor, to take part thereof and a table to be set in the midst of the church with everything necessary thereto."

An attempt was made by Henry VIII. to put a stop to these abuses. One of his injunctions, after laying down the principle that "all quietness, soberness, and godliness ought there [in churches] to be used," ordered that "no Christian person should abuse the same by eating, drinking, buying, selling, playing, dancing, or with other profane and worldly matters." This injunction seems to have had little effect, for Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses* (printed in 1585) tells us that "The wilde heads of the parish, flocking together, chuse them a grawnd captain of mischief, whom they innoble with the title of My Lord of Misrule. Then marche these heathen companie towards the church and churchyard, their pipers pypyng, drummers thonderyng, their stumpes dauncyng, their bells jynghing, their handcerchefes swyngyng about their heads like madmen, their hobbie-horses and other monsters skymishyng amongst the throng; and in this sort they go to the church (though the minister be at praier or preaching) dauncing, swyngyng their handcerchefes over their heads, and in the churche like devilles incarnate, with such confused noise that no man can heare his owne voyce. Then the foolish people, they look, they stare, they laugh, they fleere, and mywnt upon the formes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then after this, about the church they go againe and againe, and so fourthe into the churchyard, where they have commonly their summer halls, their bowers, arbours, and banquetyng houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all that day and peradventure all that night too; and thus these terrestrial furies spend the sabbath daie."*

These abuses were strictly prohibited by the 88th

* For further information on this subject, students are referred to an interesting article entitled *Sports in Churches*, by the Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., in Mr. William Andrews *Curious Church Customs*.

Canon of 1603, which directs the churchwardens to "suffer no plays, feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ales, drinkings, temporal courts or leets, lay juries, musters, or any other profane usage to be kept in the church, chapel, or churchyard."

Courts of Justice and Payments in All Saints.

The holding of courts of justice in churches in mediæval days was a custom almost universally adopted, and though it fell into disuse with regard to secular courts, the consistorial or ecclesiastical courts were held uninterruptedly in sacred buildings as long as the courts existed. An instance occurs in 1252 of ecclesiastical jurisdiction being exercised within All Saints. A dispute having arisen with regard to the church of St. Peter at St. Albans, the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans were cited to appear in the church of All Saints, Northampton, before the Pope's nuncio, Peter de Northampton, who was commissioned to settle the dispute.*

It is well known to antiquaries that payments of rent for ecclesiastical lands were often ordered to be made at stipulated periods within the church, and not only so, but in the most sacred places, such as at the high altar, or by the font. An instance of this occurs in a charter† of 1240, whereby Geoffrey, son of Wm. de Beniggeworth grants to the Abbot and Convent of Bordesley all his lands in Tysoe and other places in the county of Warwick, the Abbot paying annually to him and his heirs one mark of silver (13s. 4d.) in the church of All Saints, Northampton.

In the 15th century Alderman Sale‡ gave sixpence a week to three poore people at ye ffont of All Saints; and a century later, Agnes Chipsey (1553) gave £8 out of her lands for charitable purposes, £4 to be paide every halfe year upon ye ffont stone in the parrish church of All Saints in the town of Northampton.§

* *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, p. 332.

† *Bodleian Charters*.

‡ Thomas Sale was Mayor of Northampton in 1418, 1419, 1422, 1423, 1432, and 1433.

§ Lee MSS. p. 138. (Bridges' Collection in Bodleian Library).

The Crusade of Richard, Duke of Cornwall 1239.

Northamptonshire was from the first closely connected with the crusading movement. To the first Crusade went her great earl, Simon de St. Liz, to whom we owe the beautiful church of St. Sepulchre's, built as a thank-offering for his safe return from Palestine.

At a council held at Geddington, the famous tax known as the "Saladin Tithe" was imposed in order to assist Richard Cœur de Lion in his expedition to the Holy Land.

It was at Northampton that one of the most successful of the Crusades was inaugurated. In 1239, Richard, Earl of Cornwall (brother of Henry III.) and many other barons who had "taken the cross," assembled here, and repairing to the church of All Saints, bound themselves by an oath, sworn upon the high altar, to conduct their troops direct to Palestine, and not to engage in any other warfare on the way. In order to understand the meaning and importance of this solemn procedure in the church of All Saints, it is necessary to call to mind the extraordinary conduct of Pope Gregory IX. At the earnest solicitation of his brethren in the East, the Pope had ordered the preaching of a new Crusade. The exhortations to take up arms were mainly successful in France and England. The amazement of the French barons, when assembling at Lyons to deliberate upon the necessary preparations for the expedition, may be imagined, when a papal message arrived forbidding their departure. The Pope had become so embittered in his quarrel with the Emperor Frederick, that he was now ready to proclaim a crusade against him, rather than against the Saracens, and he desired to obtain the assistance of all his faithful barons of Europe. The French Crusaders, however, refused to obey, and set sail with the King of Navarre as their leader.

The English barons assembled at Northampton, and the action they then took was in order to prevent the Pope from turning their arms to the aid of his war against the Emperor.

Matthew Paris tells us that the Crusading magnates of England assembled on the morrow of St. Martin at Northampton, to arrange the details of their journey,

and lest the cavillings of the papal court should turn them from their sacred vow to the effusion of Christian blood, they all swore on the high altar of the church of All Saints in the midst of the town (*in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum in media civitatis*) that they would that year lead their levies to the Holy Land. The first to take the oath was the King's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and next to him came Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who expressed his willingness to take the oath, provided he could make his peace with the King. Richard replied that he would take that responsibility upon himself* After him came Richard Suard and Henry de Trumbleville, and many other nobles, whom it would take too long (says Matthew Paris) to enumerate. These all bound themselves to fight for the Cross with heart and soul.

The Crusaders proceeded from Northampton to London, and thence to the sea coast, accompanied by King Henry and his court. On their embarkation at Dover they were blessed with the prayers of the Bishops. After a triumphant march through France, they re-embarked at Marseilles, and reached Acre in safety. The English forces next proceeded to Jaffa, and the Sultan of Egypt being then at war with the Sultan of Damascus, at once offered favourable terms of peace. Jerusalem and most of the Holy Land was to be definitely given up to the Christians, and the prisoners taken in the late battle at Gaza (where the French were defeated) were to be restored. The great object of the Crusades was now accomplished, and Richard returned to Europe and was hailed everywhere as the deliverer of the Holy Sepulchre. It is specially interesting to note that this, the most startlingly successful of all the Crusades, had its solemn origin at the high altar of All Saints.

The Crusade of Prince Edward.

We do not know of any connection between Northampton and the eighth Crusade, which was so closely

* Gilbert, with many of the other barons had taken up arms against Henry III. They were specially irritated at the marriage of the King's sister Eleanor (widow of Earl Gilbert's elder brother) with Simon de Montfort. The Earl of Cornwall put himself at the head of the discontented barons, but he was eventually won over by the King, and the rebellion had before this date collapsed.

associated with the name St. Louis of France. With regard, however, to the ninth and last Crusade, the town of Northampton played a considerable part, so far as England was concerned. On Sunday, June 24th, 1268, being the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, a great assembly was held at Northampton for the preaching of a Crusade. It is nowhere stated in precise terms that this congregation assembled in All Saints, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the gathering took place in the great church of the town. The fullest description of this scene is given by the contemporary chronicler, T. Wykes, and his account may be thus Anglicised:—

“There assembled on Sunday, the festival of St. John Baptist at Northampton, the Papal Legate [Ottoboni] the Bishop of Winchester, and an innumerable multitude of English Knights, and there, after a solemn preaching, Prince Edward, and Prince Edmund his brother, sons of the King, Prince Henry, the eldest son of the King of the Romans, the Earls of Gloucester and Warrene, Lord William de Valence, and other knights to the number of one hundred and twenty, much troubled by the havoc wrought in the Holy Land—especially by the capture of Antioch by the Saracens—received on their shoulders the sign of the Holy Cross, in token of their intended expedition. Aroused by the example of the nobility, a vast number of people of either sex, and of all conditions, rushed forward to receive the Cross. Of the number of the Knights, twenty-two were of the superior rank, termed Knights-bannerets. The enthusiasm thus roused in Northampton was carried throughout the cities, boroughs, and towns of the whole kingdom, by the preaching of the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, so that a great and innumerable multitude soon bore upon their shoulders the sign of the cross.”*

Matthew Paris gives a brief account of this Crusade preaching at Northampton before the Papal Legate, but gives the year as 1269.

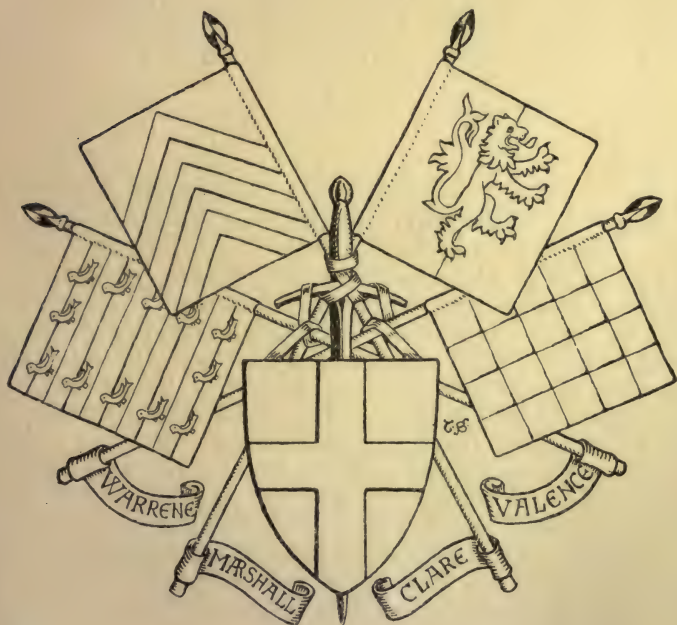
Royal Benefactions.

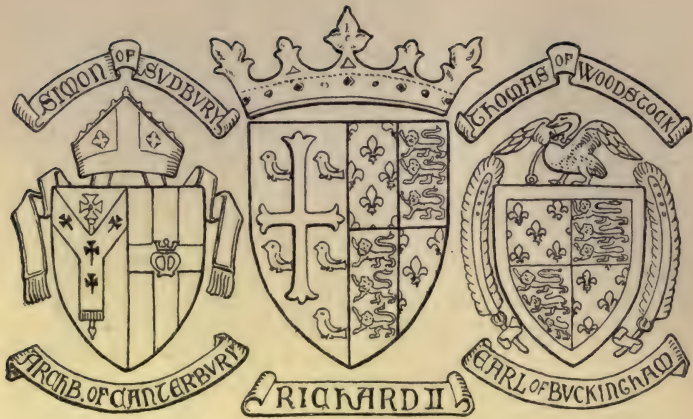
The Pipe Rolls † of 30 Henry III. show that in 1245-6 the church of All Saints received a special benefaction

* The Chronicle of T. Wykes—Rolls Series—p. 217.

† Pipe Roll 30 Hen. III., Memb ii.

from the King, which took the form of a chalice and books. The Sheriff, Alan de Maydwell, was ordered to pay ten marks to one Brother Bartholomew. This sum was to be expended in the purchase of books and a cup (price four marks) for the Eucharist, to be placed in the church of All Saints. From the same sum were to be purchased small vessels (*vasa*) of silver for the other parish churches of Northampton. These vessels would probably be the small cruets for wine and water. Bridges (who has been followed by subsequent writers) describes this benefaction as the gift of a library. The money would be obviously insufficient for any purpose of this kind. The words of the Pipe Roll are *emend. bibliotecam*; *bibliotecam* may be as accurately rendered by books as by "library." The term "books" would probably mean a Missal, Breviary, and Manual.





CHAPTER IV.

ALL SAINTS IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

The Black Death. 1349.

THE awful visitation of the plague, which reached Italy in the early days of 1348, travelled north to Normandy in July. In the beginning of August it was raging at Calais and in Jersey. In the same month it reached the coast of Dorset, and soon spread over the west of England. On August 17th, the Bishop of Bath and Wells ordered his clergy to have special "processions and stations" every Friday in their churches to deprecate God's wrath. In the following month the Prior of Canterbury (the See being vacant) ordered public processions throughout the province. By the middle of 1349, the plague was raging throughout England at large. The results in this country were simply appalling. From the most careful estimates it seems probable that the population was reduced from about five millions to two-and-a-half millions. It was specially grievous amongst the clergy, though the poor were the chief sufferers. The plague was raging in Northamptonshire from May to October, 1349, and was at its worst

in the county in August. The town of Northampton seems to have been attacked most severely in October. Of the beneficed clergy of the county, 146 died out of a total of 281, but the proportion would be far larger amongst the unbeneficed, especially those who were monks and friars. At this time, out of the nine beneficed clergy of Northampton six died, viz. : the Vicars of St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Bartholomew, St. Edmund, St. Gregory, and St. Michael, and probably Walter Pope, vicar of All Saints, though we cannot be absolutely certain of this, as the date of institution of his successor, John Atte Brook, has been lost. The Master of St. John's Hospital and the Prioress of Delapre fell victims to the disease, as also did Robert Holcot, the eminent and learned Dominican Friar of Northampton, known as "the firm and unwearied doctor."

The effect of this terrible scourge was far reaching in its social and economic aspects, but its saddest result was in connection with religion. The sudden removal of so large a proportion of the clerical body, left many a church, both in town and country, in the direst straits. The bishops were compelled to institute young and uneducated clerics to the vacant livings, with often sad results in the way of ecclesiastical irregularities. The numbers and standing of those ordained and immediately instituted to benefices within the diocese of Lincoln, at the Christmas ordination of 1349, give a vivid idea of the terrible death-rate among the clergy. At this ordination, which was held in the Carmelite church of St. Mary, at Stamford, seventy-six clerks were ordained to the diaconate, sixty as subdeacons, and thirteen as acolytes, and immediately instituted to livings! What must have been the condition of the "sacramentals" of all these parishes whose incumbents were only in minor orders?

Meeting of Convocation in All Saints Church. 1380.

It has often been asserted that the Parliament which met at Northampton in the fourth year of Richard II., held its sittings in the church of All Saints. A reference to the original Fine Rolls (now preserved in the Public Record Office) which have often been cited as an authority for this statement, shows conclusively that

this is a mistake. The King and Parliament appear to have held their meetings in the Priory of St. Andrew. It was the clergy assembled in convocation who met at All Saints.

The Parliament had originally been summoned to meet on November 5th, but on the day appointed, owing to the inclemency of the weather, which rendered the roads almost impassable, few of the members had put in an appearance. A meeting of the great officers of state was held in one of the rooms of St. Andrew's Priory, and it was agreed to adjourn for three days. On November 8th the young King (he was then only fifteen years of age) opened Parliament in person, and the business for which the members had been called together was thus explained by the Chancellor, Simon de Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury :—

“Sirs, it cannot be a thing unknown to you how that nobleman the Earl of Buckingham with a great number of other great lords, knights, esquires, and other good gentlemen of the realm, whom may God save by his mercy, are now in the service of our lord the King and his realm in the parts of France, upon which enterprise the King has expended as much as you have granted him in the last Parliament, and beyond this grant much from his private resources; and what is more, he has greatly contributed from his own substance for the expedition against Scotland, and for the defence and succour of his lieges in Guienne, and for the last debts due to the Earl of March for Ireland, as well as in other ways. He has pledged the greater part of his jewels, which are on the point of being lost, and you may observe how the subsidy in wool is the cause of the present riot in Flanders; nothing, in effect, is reserved. The wages of the troops in the marches of Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg are in arrears more than a quarter and a half, in consequence of which the castles and fortresses of the King are in such great peril that the soldiers are on the point of departing. Be well assured that neither our lord the King, nor any other Christian monarch is able to endure such charges without the aid of the community; and moreover, consider how deeply the King is indebted; how the Crown jewels, as it is said, are on the point of being forfeited; how he is bound by covenant to pay the Earl of Buckingham and his companions;

what outrageous expenses he will be put to in guarding the sea coasts nearest France next season, so that the malice of the enemy may be better resisted than it was before, when, as you are well aware, they wrought such grievous damage and villany against the state. Will you counsel our lord the King and show him what better provision can be made to meet these difficulties, and show how the kingdom may be defended more securely against its enemies by land and sea? Be pleased to deliberate on this as soon as you are able, to the end that you may speedily render his Majesty, these nobles, and yourselves that effectual assistance which is necessary." *

After listening to this speech, the members dispersed to their respective lodgings. On the next day they re-assembled in the new dormitory§ of the priory to discuss matters, and a warm debate took place. The Commons put forward as their spokesman Sir John Gildersburgh, who pleaded that the country was poor, and that the sum demanded by the King (£160,000) was excessive. After a long discussion, the Commons proposed that £100,000 should be voted, on the understanding that the clergy, who owned one third of the kingdom, should pay one third of the sum. The clergy demurred at what they considered to be an infringement of their rights, saying that "their grant was never made in Parliament, neither ought to be; that the laity neither ought nor had the power to bind the clergy, nor the clergy the laity." Nevertheless, if this right were not interfered with, they were ready to do as their brethren the laity did. The

* Translated from the original Norman French by Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in *Historical Memorials of Northampton*.

§ The two largest rooms in monastic buildings were the refectory or dining hall (commonly called the "frater") and the great dormitory (commonly known as the "dorter"). The latter was generally of great extent and was a lofty upper chamber, running the whole length of the east side of the cloister garth, over the chapter house and the adjacent buildings. The dormitory communicated with the transept of the conventual church by a wide staircase, convenient for use for the nocturnal service. This great chamber, when furnished, was sub-divided into a considerable number of cubicles by wooden partitions, according to the number of monks in the house. Ordinarily speaking, no apartment would be less suited for the meeting of any assembly than a monastic dormitory, but the statement that the dormitory of St. Andrew's had been newly built, and therefore not yet sub-divided, makes the matter clear.

clergy accordingly adjourned to the church of All Saints, and there appear to have voted the proportional sum required of them.

On December 20th, the King at Westminster formally notified the Archbishop of Canterbury of the subsidy that was to be raised by the clergy of the province of Canterbury, and ordered that it should be paid in equal portions on February 22nd and June 24th. The following is the wording of the preamble as found in the Fine Rolls:—

“The King to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“Whereas you and other prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury in the last convocation of the prelates and clergy of the said province made in the church of All Saints, Northampton, in the diocese of Lincoln, to take Our royal benevolence and the support of Our wars, and the necessary defence of Our Kingdom of England and of the Church of England, have granted to Us a certain subsidy from certain persons and ecclesiastics of the said province, exempt and not exempt, privileged and not privileged, to be paid at the feasts of St. Peter in Cathedra* and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist now next coming, by equal portions in this form following, to wit.”†

In the previous year, when a graduated Poll Tax was adopted, the following scale was imposed by Convocation on the clergy. The Archbishop of Canterbury £6 13s. 4d.; bishops and mitred abbots, £4; beneficed clergy, according to the value of their livings, from £3 to 2s.; monks and nuns, and others of any religious order, from 3s. 4d. to 4d., according to the value of the House to which they belonged; unbeneficed clerks, 4d. The result of this Poll Tax as regards the clergy, was to raise a sum of about £8,000. The exact method adopted by the clergy in 1380 to raise the very much larger sum of £33,000 is not known, but it would probably be by a Poll Tax on a much larger scale.

With regard to the laity, the Commons in 1380 decided to raise the required sum by a tax of sixpence from every lay person in the kingdom, male or female, of whatsoever estate or condition in life, over the age of fif-

* February 22nd was the Festival of St. Peter in Cathedra.

† Fine Rolls 4 Ric. II. memb. 22.

teen years, except real beggars. There was a qualifying arrangement, by which the total amount to be paid was to be assessed in every township, and towards this sum persons of substance were expected to assist the poorer, according to their property; but the most substantial was not to pay more than 20s. for himself and his wife, and no person was to pay less than two pence for himself and his wife. This was a gigantic change from the graduated Poll Tax of the previous year, by which dukes paid £6 13s. 4d.; earls and countesses, £4; barons, bannerets, and knights, £2, and the official and mercantile classes in like proportion. This newly-devised Poll Tax on a non-graduated principle, as imposed by the Northampton Parliament, fell very heavily on the poorer classes. It met with the bitterest opposition, and was the chief cause which led in the following year to the great peasant insurrection known to history as the rebellion of Wat Tyler.

The statements made by Bridges and copied by subsequent writers, as to Parliament meeting on various occasions in the church of All Saints, is obviously as incorrect as in the case just recorded. It can safely be stated that Parliament as a whole never met at All Saints. In all probability, the clergy, sitting separately in convocation, would often meet there, when the lay element of Parliament was assembled at the Castle or elsewhere in the town.

The Lollards at All Saints.

In the sixteenth year of Richard II., great disturbances took place in All Saints in connection with the Lollard movement. John Wycliffe, the reformer, had died in 1384, and it was thought that at his death the movement he had set on foot would speedily collapse. This, however, was far from being the case, and the "Lollards," as his followers now began to be called, constantly increased in numbers. They seem to have been specially strong in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, and the contemporary chronicler, Knighton, (who was himself hostile to the movement) tells us that "you could scarcely meet two persons in the road but one of them would be a disciple of Wycliffe." The Lollards appear to have drawn most of their adherents

from the lower classes of society, but a certain number of the aristocracy supported them; some like John of Gaunt (the King's uncle) from political motives, others, such as the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Latimer of Northamptonshire, Sir John Russell of Staffordshire, and Sir Lewis Clifford in Durham, from genuine conviction. In London we hear of at least one Lord Mayor among the Lollards, and John Fox, the Mayor of Northampton, which was then one of the most important towns in the kingdom, seems to have been a zealous adherent. John Fox was mayor of Northampton on four occasions, viz. : 1384, 1392, 1399, and 1400, and was therefore obviously a person of considerable position in the town.

One of the topographical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library throws considerable and most interesting light on the doings of the Lollards in Northampton during Fox's second mayoralty, especially in connection with the church of All Saints. It is a complaint addressed to the King and Council by a certain Richard Stormesworth, and runs as follows:—

“Anno 16 Ric. II. A complaint to ye King and Council, against John Fox, Maior of North^t etc., exhibited in French by Rich^d Stormesworth, Woolman; complaining y^t ye s^d Maior hath p^rsumed by colour of his office, to use Royal power and auctority of Holy Kirke in ye s^d Town authorising ye Lollards to preach, maugre ye Bishop of Lincoln and his Curates, notwithstanding their Inhibicons. That ye s^d Mair is a Lollard, keeping in his house one Richard Bullock chaplain, who hath been convicted of many Errors and Heresys at North^t before Thos. Botteler, Archdeacon of North^t; and likewise one James Collyn, sometime a Prentice to ye Trade of Mercery in London: refusing his Arte to become a Lollard: w^{ch} James Collyn was ye first maintainer of Lollardy in North^t: and ye s^d Mair hath drawn to him one Tho. Compworthe of ye county of Oxford, who hath been convict before ye chancell^r and University there of many Err^{rs} and Heresys. And one Nicolas Weston, a ffryer Carmelite apostate and Lollard without ye licence of his Order, and made him Parish Chaplain of St. Gregory's at North^t. And y^t ye s^d Mair hath drawn unto him one Mr. Wm. Northwold, an instructor of ye Lollards of ye Town, without ye licence

of ye s^d Bp etc. ; ye w^{ch} Mr. Wm. did wrongfully occupy ye Archdeaconry of Sudbury about seven years, and after Symoniacally took away a great sum of Money, on w^{ch} he liveth at this day deliciously in ye House of St. Andrew at North^t: where he hath caused such debate between ye Prior and Monkes y^t ye house is well nigh undone. Mr. Wm. caused ye like troubles at Melkesworth and Oseney and St. John's at Bedford, etc.

“That ye s^d Mair hath made ye whole Town of North^t in a manner to become Lollards, being vexatious to such as are not. That he brought in one Robert Braibrok, a chaplain, an Herretick, to preach in All Sts Church at North^t maugre ye Bp etc. and one Parson of Wynkpole, a Lollard, to preach there, who assended ye Pulpit wⁿ ye Viccar of ye Church, after the offertory, went to ye Altar to sing his Mass: whom ye s^d Mair followed and took by ye back of his vestment, to cause him to cease, till ye s^d Preacher had preach'd, and ye Vicar answer'd *non possum*. The s^d Parson preached there his Lollardy in ye afternoon too, to whom the s^d Rich^d Stormesworth cryed, *Tu autem, Tu autem*, to cause him to hold his peace: comanding him to come down, upon w^{ch} an uproar ensued, and y^t ye s^d Rich^d was in danger of his life. That afterwards ye s^d Mair fearing that he might be blamed for w^t he had done in maintenance of ye s^d Preacher, got unto him 8 or 9 of ye 24 chief men to assist him for ye inditeing of ye s^d Rich^d for ye s^d ffray, sumoned ye Dosouns to appear at his court. That Laurence Barber, one of ye Dosouns, was imprisoned by ye rest for not agreeing to their p^rsentment. That ye Mair got a Jury of Lollards who, together with Wm. Pisford, an enemy of ye s^d Rich^d gave their Verdite y^t ye s^d Rich^d was principal in ye Affray, ye s^d Rich^d being absent when this Verdite was given. That no action is there maintainable by ye Inhabitants against ye Lollards during this man's maioralty. That ye Maior etc. sent to Oxford to hire Preachers to preach during ye time of Lent, at ye Cross in ye Church Yard in ye Market-place of North^t. That ye Comissaries of ye Bp of Lincoln dare not sit upon Lollardy in North^t for fear of ye Maior. That he with other Lollards brought ye fores^d Mr. Wm. Northwold from ye Monastery of St Andrew's, arrayed *en une clake, une Taberd, et une chap'on furrés de pellure* and

with a cap on, as if he had been a Doct^r or Master of Divinity, to preach."*

Two or three points in this vivid narrative require elucidation.

With regard to the presence of Wm. Northwold, the late Archdeacon of Sudbury "living deliciously" at St. Andrew's Priory, this was no doubt by special arrangement, which was termed a corrody. After the Black Death had so seriously impoverished many of the religious houses, it became customary for those that had sufficient accommodation, to let out rooms for board and lodging during the lifetime of those who paid liberally for the privilege. The custom usually was for any aged cleric or layman who desired to end his days in comfort, surrounded by religious privileges, to give a considerable sum or assign certain lands to the convent to secure these benefits. In the case of Thomas Fishlake, a burges of Hull, an indenture of corrody† exists, dated 1353, between himself and the Abbot of Meaux, by which he secured in exchange for a sum of £60, a life allowance of thirteen conventual loaves (eight of white bread) per week; ten gallons of beer whenever a new brew was carried to the cellar; and daily from the Abbot's kitchen as much flesh and fish as would suffice for two monks, as well as food for his attendant at the rate supplied to one of the Abbot's servants. Fishlake was also supplied with a furred robe or 13s. 4d. every feast of St. Andrew, as well as a tunic and hood, and 5s. for his shoes, certain quantities of cheese, butter, candles, oatmeal, white flour, and salt; also with eight waggon loads of peat, four waggon loads of good hay, and a sufficiency of straw. Moreover, free access and egress to his chambers was granted to him and his friends provided they were not soldiers. If the ex-Archdeacon of Sudbury was provided in like manner by the monks of St. Andrew it might fairly be termed "delicious" living, according to the standard of comfort of those days.

The term "twenty-four chief men" is of interest as

* MSS. Top. Northants, C. 9, pp. 154-6. This 17th century manuscript account is taken from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, Cleopatra E. xi.

† *Annals of the Abbey of Meaux*, by Rev. Dr. Cox. Transactions of East Riding Antiquarian Society, vol. i., pp. 35-38.

illustrating the municipal life of Northampton. In the time of Edward III. Northampton's assembly is described as consisting of the mayor, the coroners, twelve burgesses, and the commonalty. In the reign of Richard II. this was changed, and a Privy Council of twenty-four of the chief men of the town, usually called the "co-burgesses" or the "co-brethren," was appointed to advise the mayor and act in conjunction with him and the general assembly. This remained the rule of local government in Northampton till the statute of 1489.†

The "Dosouns" mentioned in this complaint of Richard Stormesworth, is a colloquial rendering for "Dozener." This word is in itself a corruption of Deciner or *Decinarius* and takes us back to pre-Norman days when householders were ordered to combine into associations of ten, one of whom was responsible for due order. In later times the term Deciner or Dozener in a very few of our oldest boroughs came into current use as an official whose duty pretty nearly corresponded to that of a constable. At Northampton it was his special duty to prevent all manner of disturbances against the peace.‡

The description of the raiment worn by William Northwold, as he emerged from St. Andrew's Priory, throws light upon the costume of the period. The tabard was a short coat or mantle which covered the front and back, but was open at the side from the shoulders downwards. The scholars at Queen's College, Oxford, were, till recently, called "Tabarders" from the special shape of their scholar's gowns. The chap'on or chaperon was a hood lined with fur. Over the tabard was worn the long cloak or gown. It would seem that it was merely the shape of Northwold's cap which resembled that of a doctor of divinity, and not his general dress.

The name "Lollard" which was applied to the followers of Wycliffe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, seems to be identical with that of the "Lullards" of Germany and the Netherlands, a society originally formed in the twelfth century for the burial of plague

† Northampton Borough Records, vol. ii., pp. 16 to 19.

‡ Northampton Borough Records, vol. i., 393-4; vol. ii. 141-2.

stricken persons. They obtained their name from the soft funeral hymns which they sang ("lullen" or "lollen") as they carried the bodies to the grave. Early in the fourteenth century they incurred grave ecclesiastical censures for their extravagancies and heresies. It is supposed that the term Lollard was used in England simply to denote a heretic, and had, at an early date, a clever turn given to it, as if it had been derived from the Latin *Lolium*, and signified the tares among the wheat. The name is found in a bull of Gregory XI. (1377), and in a constitution of Archbishop Arundel (1408).

The English Lollards were partly a school of anti-sacerdotalists, and partly an extreme political party of extravagant socialists. There is no doubt that the Lollards included in their ranks many men who were sincere religious reformers, but there were not a few political malcontents with almost anarchical views, who, availing themselves of the popular name of Lollard, brought discredit and ruin upon the earnest men "whose name they adopted but whose principles they ignored." In the time of Henry IV. the Lollards had come to be regarded as a positive danger to the State; rigorous measures were adopted for their suppression, and by the end of the following reign the movement had been finally crushed.

Fifteenth Century.

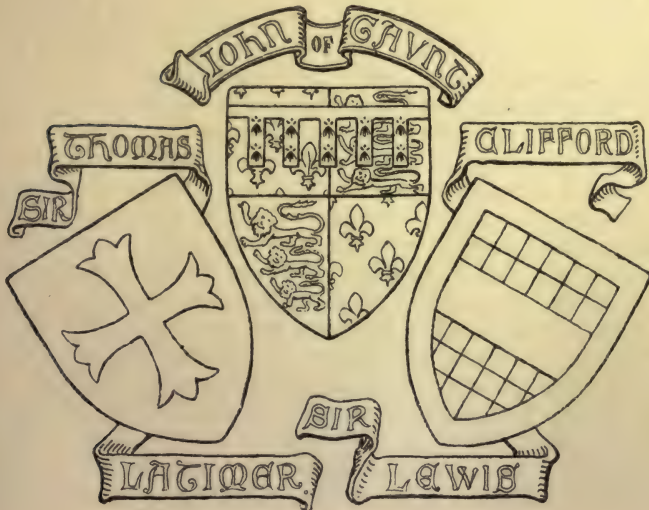
There are very few incidents to record about the church of All Saints in the fifteenth century, save those that are connected with the remarkable development of the Gilds. That subject will, however, be fully treated of in the next chapter. The founding of the College in 1461 is also separately discussed.

In 1489 a special Act of Parliament brought about an entire change in the local government of Northampton, as well as in the neighbouring town of Leicester. The preamble attempts to justify this revolutionary measure by reciting the great divisions, discords, and excitements of the great popular assemblies. This Act substituted for the commonalty, forty-eight of the most discreet and best disposed townsmen, who were to be selected by the mayor and past mayors. The choice of the new

mayor was left in the hands of the forty-eight, in association with the mayor and ex-mayors, and with the bailiffs and ex-bailiffs. Full details as to the procedure to be adopted at the annual election of mayors and bailiffs are given in the Bateman copy of the Northampton Customary in the British Museum, which was compiled at the time of the passing of the Act. It is here stated that:—

“Fyrst the day of the Seide Election Accustomed All those that have voyces in the same Elections to mete Att all hallowe Chirche Att a convenyent houre before none. And there here a Masse of Holy Goste. And at the ende of the same to departe and goo to the Gylde halle”* etc. It is interesting to note this happy blending of religious and secular duties. The Mass of the Holy Ghost to specially invoke divine guidance, was invariably celebrated in mediæval days at the election of bishops and deans, and the heads of the various religious houses. Possibly this may have been also a general custom before the choice of a mayor or any important secular official.

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. ii., p. 531.





CHAPTER V.

THE GILDS OR FRATERNITIES OF ALL SAINTS.

NO description of an important town church in mediæval days would be complete without some reference to its Gilds or Fraternities. Although the origin of Gilds goes back to a far earlier date, it will be sufficient here to mention that every English town of any size had, in the thirteenth century, its merchant Gild, which embraced all the principal traders, and which was intimately connected with its municipal life and government. About the dawn of the fourteenth century, almost every special craft also had its own Gild or union which all craftsmen were expected to join, and which was primarily devoted to the interests of the particular trade. About the same time, the principle of combination spread throughout the smaller towns and villages, though in these latter cases the associations were more especially of a religious character, and existed for the support of some definite church work or adornment. It has often been said that the town Gild was much the same as a modern friendly society, and that in other respects it resembled the trades union of to-day. But although this is true to a limited extent, there were many points of difference. The chief of these was the close connection of definite religious observances

with even the most secular of these mediæval societies.

It is true of all the Gilds that they came to the help of their members in the various vicissitudes of life—in old age, in sickness, in wrongful imprisonment, and in losses by fire, water, and shipwreck. The rules of the Palmers' Gild at Ludlow are a fair specimen of the mutual benefit that was obtained by joining such organisations.

It is ordered by that Fraternity that :—

“ When it happens that any of the brethren and sisters shall be brought to such want (through theft, fire, shipwreck, fall of a house, or any other mishap) that they have not enough to live on; then once, twice, and thrice, but not a fourth time, as much help shall be given to them out of the goods of the Gild as the Master and Wardens, having regard to the deserts of each, and to the means of the Gild, shall order; so that whoever bears the name of this Gild shall be up-raised again through the ordinances, goods, and help of his brethren. If it befall that any brother or sister be cast into prison, or that a man or his goods be in any way unrightly seized (which God forbid), our Master and Wardens shall, without any delay, use every means in their power to get him and his goods freed. This they shall do at his own cost if he can bear the charge: but if he has not enough, the common fund of the Gild shall be taken in aid.

If any of our poorer brethren fall into grievous sickness, they shall be helped, both as to their bodily needs and other wants, out of the common fund of the Gild, until their health is renewed as it was before. But if anyone becomes a leper, or blind, or maimed in limb, or smitten with any other incurable disorder (which God forbid), we wish that the goods of the Gild shall be largely bestowed upon him. If any good girl of the Gild cannot have the means found her by her father either to go into a religious house, or to marry, friendly and right help shall be given her out of our means and our common chest, towards enabling her to do whichever of the two she wishes.”

As an example of the definite religious obligations that pertained to the trade Gilds, mention may be made of the Gild of the Tailors of Lincoln founded in 1328. The brethren were to go in procession on the feast of Corpus Christi. Any member wishing to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land was to receive from every member a penny, but if to Rome or St. James of Compostella, a halfpenny. The members were to accompany the pilgrim outside the gates of the city of Lincoln, and on his return, to meet him and go with him to his mother church. Four wax lights were to be put round the body of any dead member until burial, and the usual services and masses were to be provided. On feast days the members had prayers at their table, and after the feast a Mass was sung for the departed. They had also a chaplain of their own, to whom every brother and

sister, on joining the Gild, paid the usual fees.

Gilds are generally divided into two classes—trade and religious. The religious Gild had, in some respects, a far wider basis than the trade association. It embraced all classes of society except the very poorest; it was often expressly stated that the brethren and sisters need not be of good condition, though they must not come barefoot or barelegged to the feast. It was sufficient if they were of good repute, paid their entries, fees, and other dues into the common box, and did not rebel against the laws of Holy Church. The entrance fee was often paid in kind: *e.g.* a quarter of barley, a pound of pepper, a hogshead of red wine, a brass pot, a silver spoon, eight brace of rabbits, a black cow, or an alabaster image. The religious Gilds were even more precise than the trade Gilds in furthering common neighbourship and brotherly kindness; and they were further ready to give alms to the needful and to assist all forms of distress outside their own membership. Some of them were pledged to definite forms of social or religious relief, such as the laying out and burying of paupers, or the repairs of bridges and highways. These non-trade Gilds were almost invariably directly connected with some altar or chapel pertaining to one of the parish churches of their town; but in many a case they were not only of profit in sustaining the lights and perpetuating the adornments of some special shrine or chapel, but by the liberal provision of supporting one or more chaplains, they materially assisted the town vicars (who had, as a rule, very small stipends) by providing them with assistant priests. Many of these Gild chaplains were specially enjoined to assist in the "sacramentals," and general spiritual work of the parish, and even where there was no such binding obligation, the result would in all probability be usually the same.

A vast amount of information with regard to these Gilds is to be found in the Public Record Office. In 1388 the advisers of Richard II. called for a return from all the Gilds throughout England, with a detailed statement as to their origin, privileges, and possessions. The order was probably intended to furnish an excuse for some fresh royal extortion by way of a new patent for the exercise of their rights. More than five hundred of these returns still exist. They have been treated with

considerable fulness by the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, in his interesting book on English Gilds. He prints many of them either in full or in abstract, but those relating to the Gilds of All Saints, Northampton, have hitherto escaped any definite attention. These Northampton returns fully support the recent statement of Dr. Cutts, in his excellent work *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages*. He there remarks that:—

“In the ancient towns the parishes were small and their endowments miserable. In the more modern towns, which had grown into great towns with the general increase of the population, and its tendency then as now, to gravitate into the towns, the one vicar of the one parish church was often quite unable to cope with the spiritual needs of a large and difficult flock. . . . The Gilds, which provided two or three or half a dozen chaplains with singing boys, to conduct service in the church, were clearly benefactors to their respective parishes, multiplying as they did the number of services for the greater convenience of the people.”

At All Saints, Northampton, the Gild of Our Lady provided three chaplains to say Mass in the parish church. The first chaplain celebrated what was known as the “Morrow Mass.” It was said at an early hour (usually between four and five in the morning) for the benefit of travellers and others who desired to hear Mass before setting out on their journey. The “Lay Folks’ Mass Book” says:—

“ If thou have eny wey to wende,
I rede thou here a Masse to ende,
In the morennyng if thou may,
Thou shalt not leose of thi travayle,
Not half a foote of wey.”

The second chaplain celebrated a Mass at the hour of Prime (6 a.m.) which was known as “Le Prime Messe,” while the third sang his Mass between nine and eleven, “with music and great pomp of chaplains and clerks” (*cum nota et magna solempnitate capellanorum et clericorum*) so that those coming into the town from the country might be able to hear Mass when the usual services were over.

At sunset these chaplains were also expected to conduct a musical service (consisting of antiphons, prayers, etc., to the accompaniment of an organ) at which a large

congregation was usually present (*copiosa gentium concurrunt multitudo*).

The Gild of the Holy Trinity provided four chaplains and also made itself responsible for the payment of the "organ player," who received 40s., a house worth 10s., and 26s. 8d. more "for teachin childerne to sing." "Three singing men" were also maintained at the expense of the Gild, "eche of them having for his stipend for terme of Lyffe 40s."; while the parish sexton received from them, "for his stipend 16s. and one howse of 16s. a yere."

The Gild of Corpus Christi, here as elsewhere, was responsible for the organisation of the great annual procession through the streets of the town.

The Feast of Corpus Christi, on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, was instituted in 1264 by Pope Urban IV., for a procession bearing the Eucharist, with the idea of impressing on the populace the sacredness of the Divine mystery. Nowhere does it seem to have been more generally or magnificently sustained than in England, both in town and country. In English towns they carried, on this day, the silver pyx (taken from over the high altar of the principal church) under a canopy of silk and cloth of gold, which was usually borne by the principal inhabitants. All the pomp that the church could command was brought into play. The chief images or statues of the saints were carried in the forefront of the procession, each with their special display. At Northampton a great figure of St. George would doubtless be one of the chief attractions. Every gild of the town felt bound to take its due part in this great procession, whilst all available civil and military functionaries were expected to give their share of dignity to increase the general display. We should imagine that at Northampton some contingent from the garrison at the great castle, by the west gate, would not be missing. The preparing for and marshalling so great a display, which also involved the decorating of the streets and the bedizening of the houses, would require no small amount of money and arrangement to make it a success. For this purpose, all the great towns in England had their Corpus Christi Gild.

These Corpus Christi Gilds, however, did not exist solely to make a great pageant for a single day, but

they always had their chaplain or chaplains whose special function it would be to perpetuate reverence for the Blessed Sacrament. Thus we find at Northampton that this Gild sustained two chaplains.

The combined Gilds of All Saints provided at least twelve additional clergy for the benefit of the central parish of Northampton. The Gild of St. Mary furnished three chaplains, Holy Trinity four, Corpus Christi and St. John Baptist two each, and St. George one.

This church appears to have been particularly rich in Gilds, for in addition to the five just mentioned, there are references in pre-reformation wills to two others, viz., the Gilds of St. Catharine and of the Holy Rood. The Gilds that had their own chaplains, would no doubt maintain and embellish, to the best of their power, the particular chapel where an altar was assigned to them; and even for the smaller Gilds, who had no regular chaplain of their own, there would doubtless be particular altars, whose lights and other ornaments they would continuously supply.

We now propose to give a few details, drawn from original sources, with regard to the different Gilds of this important town church, placing in the appendix some of the extended Latin documents.

Gild of St. Mary.

Among the Gild certificates of 1388 is the return pertaining to the Fraternity of St. Mary in the chapel of Blessed Mary, within the church of All Saints of Northampton. It begins, as they all do, with a recital of the King's writ, and this is followed by the statement that the Gild was founded beyond the memory of man. Its chief obligation was the supplying of three chaplains. The duty of the first was to say daily Mass at dawn, termed "le morow Mass," for the good estate of the King and Queen and of all the nobles and magnates of the kingdom. It further states that Mass was to be said at this very early hour for the convenience and use of strangers and others who might wish to depart from the town on business in the morning. The chaplain, in addition to the Mass, was to use a memorial of the Holy Spirit at the beginning, and of the Blessed Virgin at the end of each service. The return goes on to say that

in the time of Edward I. the Gild had so far increased in devotion and numbers as to justify the appointment of another chaplain, who celebrated Mass daily in the same chapel at the hour of Prime, the service being called "Le Prime Messe."

In the reign of Edward II. the funds of the Gild permitted the appointment of a third chaplain whose chief duty it was to celebrate Mass in the same chapel between nine and eleven. This service was choral and the celebrant was assisted by the other chaplains and clerks of the church.

The Gild also made itself responsible for another solemnly sung Mass in the same chapel every Tuesday, in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Blessed Virgin, and all saints.

Further, the Gild provided daily at sunset a choral service, with organ accompaniment, of hymns and prayers, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. At this service it is stated there was usually a large congregation, who took their due part in the prayers and responses.

After Vespers, on the eve of all the five festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Placebo** was said, and *Dirige* and a Mass of Requiem were sung on the morrow. It is interesting to note that only five festivals of the Virgin are named in this 1388 document. They would be the feasts of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Conception. The feast of the Visitation, which remains in our Prayer Book for July 2nd, was instituted by Pope Urban VI. in 1389.

The brethren of this Gild were to have no convivial gatherings or any other assemblies, save once a year, when the accounts of the wardens were examined, and other wardens chosen. The Gild declares that they have no lands, tenements, or rents save those that were held in trust by Henry Lavendon and others, which produced an income of forty marks. The certificate also states that they were under the usual proviso, that if the fraternity died out, it was lawful to sell the lands and to

§ The Office of *Placebo* was so called from the first words of the antiphon—*Placebo Domine in regione vivorum* (I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living); it was an office for the faithful departed, consisting of psalms, antiphons, and collects. The night or early morning office for the same occasion was called *dirige* (or in English "Dirge") from the antiphon beginning—*Dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam*.

spend the money in pious uses. It is interesting also to find that the celebrated William of Wykeham, the munificent Bishop of Winchester (1367—1398), had given lands and tenements in Northampton of the clear annual value of forty shillings to trustees for this Gild. They had also goods, lead, and timber to the value of 100 shillings.

Gild of St. John Baptist.

The certificate of this Gild, founded in 1348, is also at the Public Record Office, but in a somewhat fragmentary condition. We give a full extract of it in English.

CERTIFICATES OF GILDS. CHANCERY, No. 381.
ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Founded
21 Ed. III.

A Chaplain
to celebrate
Mass.

A second
chaplain.

Special
Services on
St. John
Baptist's
Day.

The brethren
meet clad in
their Gild
Livery.

Certificate by Robert Bertram and John Goldsmith, wardens of a certain poor fraternity of St. John the Baptist of Northampton, to Thomas, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England, that there is in the Borough of Northampton an ancient custom that the burgesses of the same may leave by will lands, rents, tenements, and services to whomsoever they wish, as well regulars as seculars, and also to churches, altars, and lights, to find chaplains, or to do any other divine service for their souls or the souls of their ancestors, and that in the 21st year of the reign of Edward III. for the honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John the Baptist, the burgesses ordained a chaplain by their contributions to celebrate divine service in a certain chapel built within the church of All Saints, Northampton, in honour of the same Saint, for the tranquillity and healthful estate of the King and Queen of England, their progenitors, and the peers and magnates of the same, and all their benefactors. But afterwards the devotion of the faithful so grew that other burgesses of the same town contributed towards finding a like chaplain, and made themselves coadjutors, promising faithfully to observe that devotion of faith according to their powers, and so it was called the fraternity of St. John the Baptist. Moreover, the same brethren of their devotion considering that greater solemnity and reverence should be done for the praise and honour of St. John the Baptist, ordained that there be said, done, and celebrated every year, on the feast of the Nativity of the same Saint, Vespers on the vigil, and Matins, Canonical Hours, and Mass on the feast, with all possible solemnity of chaplains and clerks, in the chapel aforesaid with music. The aforesaid brethren meeting together as a mark of reverence for that feast, and being clothed in one livery, prostrated themselves in prayers and suffrages for the healthful estate and tranquillity aforesaid, and also after the offertory of the Mass, making their oblations, and there standing till Matins, Canonical Hours, and Mass were fully ended. They were accustomed on the

An annual feast at expense of members. Now discontinued owing to poverty of brethren.

Vespers, placebo, and dirige and mass of requiem.

A procession to St. John's Hospital.

Burial rites.

same day, on account of the increase of love and devotion, to eat together, every brother paying for this from his own purse. But now for many years past, by reason of the poverty of the brothers, the said feast and every other entertainment are discontinued. Vespers for that day being finished, *Placebo* and *Dirige* with a Mass of Requiem on the morrow for the faithful departed, are said with music in the said chapel, the brothers aforesaid remaining there, prostrating themselves in prayers and suffrages for the healthful estate and tranquillity of the Gild and benefactors aforesaid. And moreover the brothers aforesaid set out together in the manner of a pilgrimage to the house of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, there making oblations and prayers in honour of the same Saint, and immediately afterwards return home. Also every brother dying shall be taken to burial by the remainder of the brothers as is becoming. And the brothers shall cause to be celebrated one Mass of requiem for the deceased.

The document is here torn away, but appears to relate to provision for brothers falling into need. It further states that they have no charters. The certificate is dated at Northampton on Saturday next before the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, 12 Richard II.

In the next century the Craft Gild of the Tailors seems to have been closely connected with this Gild, for one of their ordinances (made August 20th, 1445) enacts that every tailor setting up a shop in Northampton shall pay to the Masters—every stranger three shillings and four pence, and every other person trained as an apprentice in the town, twenty pence, whereof the Masters shall deliver half to the “Maire and Comyn Serjunt of the seide town to the use and profite of the Maire and comynalte, And the other halfe the Maisters to kepe for the comyn necessaryes and nedis of the seide crafte, And the sustentacon of the ffraternite of Seint John Baptiste and the light abowte the Sacrament in the Chirche of Alhalowes of Northampton to be spendid.”

It was further ordained that all tailors of the craft abovesaid hereafter coming to Northampton, shall be received on equal terms among the brethren of the said Fraternity of St. John the Baptist “by the maisters of the craft Aforeseide to be receyvid and to gydyr sworne for to take uppon hem [them] the ordinaunce and constiticons of the seide ffraternite, And to pay their quarterages, and to supporte and mayntene all other charges of Right to the seide ffraternite longing.”*

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. 1, pp. 266 and 281.

When the Gilds were about to be suppressed at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., the commissioners sent round for the purpose of investigating Gild property made the following return with regard to this Gild.

"THE FRATERNITYE OR GUILDE OF SEINT JOHN AND
SEINTE KATERINE THERE.*

"Founded by Margaret Wheler, wydow, who by her last wyll beryng date the xvth of Aprell anno dni m^vxxxij^o gave certeine Landes and Tenementes to thintent to have A solem Dirige and Masse wthin the chappell of Corpus Xpi in an Ile of the foresayde church. Is worth by yere as maye appere by the perticuler survey thereof, lixs., whereof in

Rente Resolute	xxij ^s .	vj ^d .	}	xxx ^s . ij ^d .
Too the pore yerely	v ^s .	vij ^d .		

And so Remaynythe clere yerely xxvij^s. x^d.

Goodes Remayning the viijth of December last past as apperyth perticulerly by an Inventory thereof iiiij^s. iiiij^d.

Plate none.

Memorand: Preacher or Schole Mr. none. Pore people relevid none other then douthe appere."

As is so often found to be the case, this return is very misleading.† In the first place there is no evidence whatever that the Gilds of St. John Baptist and St. Catharine were ever united or connected with one another in any way, and secondly, as we have already seen, the Gild of St. John Baptist was founded two centuries before the time of Margaret Wheeler. A reference to her will, (dated April, 1532) which is now preserved in the Northampton Probate Office, shows that she leaves her body to be buried "in the chapell of Corpus Chrysty yn the seid church of all hawloys. Itm I wyll that my [executors] shall fynd a prest to syng for me and my fryndys and all chrystyn sowls the space of one yere [at the] auter of Seinte John Baptist wthyn the seyde cherche of all howlowys and he to have for [his labor] vi^{li} sterlyng Also I guyff and beqweth unto the fraternyte of Seynt John baptyst all my tenements wthyn the towne of Northampton except my gardyn yn Saynt Andrys end and the said fraternyte shall cause to be done a solame dyryge and a masse wthyn [the chapell] of Corpus Chrysty at the fest of Seynt Thomas of Canterbury

* Certificate of Gilds, No. 35. 2 Ed. VI.

† It is not to be wondered at that the information given under compulsion to the commissioners on the eve of the suppression of these usually popular Gilds, was often defective.

yerly, ther at to be [bestowed]‡ vjs. viij^d. Also I wyll y^t yff the maysters of the seyd fraternitye cause nott the dyryge and messe to be done at the fest of Seynt Thomas than I wyll y^t the master of the bretherhed [of the] college of all halowys shall entur in to the seyde londys and tenements and they to kepe the dyryge and messe before rehersyd."

Corpus Christi Gild.

Amongst the Gild Certificates in the Public Record Office of 1388-89 are the returns of the Corpus Christi Gild of All Saints, Northampton. A full copy of the original is given in the Appendix, of which the following is an English abstract:—

The Wardens, Fremund de la Port and Simon Spicer, declare that the Gild was founded in the year 1351, by certain burgesses of the town of Northampton, in honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints, and particularly for the promotion of reverence and worship of the Blessed Sacrament of the Body of our Lord. It was ordained that a general solemn procession of all the 'resident religious,' both regular and secular, and of others who might come for the purpose, should be made on Corpus Christi Day, throughout the circuit of the town, at the accustomed hour before high Mass; that the members of the Gild should meet at the church of All Saints, clad in their livery, and carrying lighted torches, and should go first in the procession; that the members should, at high mass, pray for the King and Queen, and for the nobles and all benefactors, and should make their offerings, and stay till the end of the Mass, standing with lighted torches around the Blessed Sacrament. It was originally ordained that they should on the same day hold a feast, each one at his own expense, but the wardens reported that this feast had for many years been discontinued. The members had also to attend Vespers, and *Placebo* the same evening, whilst on the following morning they were expected to be present at *Dirige* and a sung Mass of Requiem, being specially enjoined to remain in prayer to the end.

The wardens further report that a chaplain was

‡ An annual bequest to the poor.

originally appointed to celebrate mass daily in the church of All Saints for the good estate of the members and the benefactors of the Gild and for the faithful departed. The devotion so increased that many other burgesses of the town joined the Gild, with the result that a second chaplain was appointed for a like object.

On the death of a brother, the rest of the Gild were to attend his burial with lighted torches, and a Mass of requiem was to be sung. If a brother fell into poverty which was not caused by his own rashness or negligence, he was to be helped by the rest, to the extent of a hundred shillings or more. The Gild was to meet together once a year for the purpose of auditing accounts and electing new officers. The wardens returned that they had no other privileges and customs and that they had no other charters or lands, save certain lands, tenements, and rents in Northampton and Duston, to the yearly value of £7, which were held in trust by John Bugbrooke, William Broughton, and others. The return ends in the usual way, by reciting that if the Gild came to an end, it was lawful to sell their possessions for the good of their souls and the souls of the faithful. There were no other goods or chattels in hand, but there was a debt to the late wardens of £4 3s. 6½d.

From the Fine Rolls* of 1393 we learn that the wardens, brethren, and sisters of this Gild of Corpus Christi, gave twenty marks for a licence to permit Reginald Barker, Richard Rawlins, and John Malpas to assign to the Gild three messuages, five cottages, three shops and one toft, and one rood of land, and 8s. in rents in Northampton. This royal licence had to be obtained in order to escape the penalties of the statute of Mortmain.

The Patent Rolls of the same date, prove that these handsome bequests were for the purpose of finding and supporting a third chaplain for Gild purposes, in the church of All Saints †

The commissioners sent out by Edward VI. with a view to the suppression of the Gilds, made two returns with regard to this Gild, which is perhaps accounted for by the fact that there were separate endowments. Nos.

* Fine Rolls. 16 Ric. II., m. 15.

† Patent Rolls, 16 Rich. II. pt. 2, m. 28.

35 and 36 of the Northampton certificates relate to this Gild. As has been already remarked, they are very far from being accurate in their historic statements. They are as follows :—

THE PISHE CHURCHE
OF ALL SEINTES
IN NORTHAMPTON.

CERTIFICATE OF GUILDS
No 35.
2 Ed. VI.

THE FRATERNITYE OR GILDE OF CORPUS XPI. THERE.

Founded by henry Caysho, John of Geytington, John Horne and other in thonor of Corpus Xpi. Is worth by yere in Landes and tentes lying and being in the Towne of North. as by the Survey therof particularly apperyth xijli. xiiij^s.

wherof in Rente Resolute xvij^s., unde

Too Robte Mersey prest dayly serving in the foresayd pyshe church of thage of XL yeres unmete to serve a cure and hathe no other lyving vii. vjs. viij^d. And soe Remayneth clere yerely vijli. ix^s. iiij^d.

Goodes Remaying the viijth of December last past as apperyth perticularly by an Inventory thereof, iiij^s. viij^d.

Plate pcell gylte weying viij ounces iij quarters.

Memorand : Preacher, Schole Mr., or pore people Relevyd or maynteyned none.

CERTIFICATE OF COLLEGES
NORTHAMPTON.

CERTIFICATE 36.

THE FRATERNITYE OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

Endowed { with londes and tenementes towards the fyndyng of one
preste cauled the morowe mas preste serving in the pishe
church of all Saynctes in Northampton.

The said fraternitie is erected with in the pisshe church of all Sayntes in North.

The valewe of the londes gyven to ye said fraternitye lv^s. iiij^d. which is employed towards the wages of the said prest.

The valewe of the Juells, ornamentes, goodes } null.
and cattall of the said fraternitye

Gild of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Trinity Gild, though not the oldest, seems to have been the most influential of the All Saints' Gilds. It was founded in 1392, by Henry Buckingham, Roger Lincoln, and other burgesses of Northampton. An entry in the Patent Rolls gives us the following particulars with regard to its foundation :—

GILD OF THE HOLY TRINITY AND B.V.M.

The King grants to Henry Bukingham, Roger Lincoln, Henry Caysho, John Getyngton, and other burgesses of Northampton leave to found a

certain fraternity and Gild in honour of the Holy Trinity and the glorious Virgin Mary, and that they may be able year by year to choose from themselves and others, by the brothers and sisters of the fraternity, two Wardens to govern the Gild, having the name of "The Wardens of the Fraternity and Gild of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Mary, in the church of All Saints, Northampton."* Windsor, July 25th.

A few weeks later, it was proposed to settle certain lands and houses on the Gild by way of endowment; but as this involved a breach of the statute of Mortmain, an enquiry (*Inquisitio ad quod damnum*) had first to be held, as to whether it was advisable for the crown to grant a licence for such a settlement. The Royal Commissioner was instructed to enquire whether the granting of such a licence would be "to the harm or danger of us or others; to what harm and what danger, and to whose harm or danger, and how and whence; and further, of whom the said lands are held and by what service, and what kind and manner of service, and how much the said lands are worth yearly, and who and how many are the middle lords of those lands; and whether the lands and tenements remaining to the said proposed donors, after the said proposed gift will be enough to fulfil the customs and services which they are bound to render, etc."‡

The return made by the commissioner runs as follows:—

An Inquisition|| held at Northampton before Robert Isham, the King's Eschaetor, on Monday after the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Sept. 8] finds that it is not to the hurt of the King or of any others, if the King grants licence to Thomas Pirye and John Attewell, of Northampton to settle 9 messuages, 13 cottages, 15 shops, 6 tofts with 2 dove-cotes, half a messuage, and half a cottage, and £9 8s. in rents, on the Wardens, Brothers, and Sisters of the Fraternity and Gild of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary of Northampton, to find 4 chaplains in the church of All Saints to celebrate Mass for the good estate of the King and Queen and the said Gild, and for their souls when they leave this world, and for the souls of their benefactors, which premisses are held of the King in burgage as parcel of the town of Northampton, which is held of the King by fee farm of £120 per annum.

In consequence of this return, the King granted the required licence to the Gild, but exacted from them in return the payment of £100, a very large sum, when we

* Patent Rolls. 16 Rich. II. pt. 2, memb. 32.

‡ Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*, pp. 240-43.

Inquisitiones ad quod Damnum, 151, pt. 2a.

consider the relative value of money in those days.

The Patent Rolls of 16 Richard II. give us the following particulars of this transaction :—

HOLY TRINITY AND B.V.M.

In consideration of £100 paid by the wardens, brethren, and sisters of the fraternity of the Holy Trinity and Blessed V. M., of Northampton, licence is granted to Thomas Pirye and John Atte Welle to settle 9 messuages, 13 cottages 15 shops, 6 tofts, with 2 dove cotes, half a messuage and half a cottage and £8 15s. od. in rents with appurtenances in Northampton, to be held by the wardens, etc., for finding 4 chaplains in the church of All Saints to say mass for the good estate of the King and Queen, and the members of the Gild, and for the souls, etc.*
26 Sept., Oxford, 16 Ric. II.

Five years later, the Gild members desired to invest in additional house property, and another licence had to be obtained, which cost them 20 marks.

From the Patent Roll of 21 Richard II. we learn the following particulars :—

In consideration of 20 marks paid to the King by John Atte Welle and Thomas Overton of Northampton, licence is granted to them to settle 4 messuages, 2 shops, 2 butchers' stalls, and 10s. 4d. in rents, in Northampton, which are held of the King in burgage, on the wardens, brethren, and sisters of the Fraternity and Gild of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary of Northampton, towards the maintenance of 4 chaplains to celebrate mass daily in the church of All Saints, for our good estate whilst we live and for the good estate of the Fraternity, and for the souls of the King and Queen and the souls of the Fraternity and their benefactors, and all the faithful departed, etc. 29 June. †

On June 24th, 1437, a general pardon was granted by the King in Parliament to this Gild for some infringement of the Statute of Mortmain. The original charter§ with the royal seal of Henry VI. attached, is in the British Museum. It is a long and elaborate document, which recites, as was the custom, every conceivable crime for which the brethren and sisters of the Gild were to be held forgiven. This was done in order to prevent any possible evasion of the pardon by the Crown lawyers.

In later times, the Weavers' Gild seems to have been connected more or less closely with the Trinity Gild,

* Patent Rolls 16 Rich. II., part 2, memb 28.

† Patent Roll, 21 Richard II., pt. 1, m. 39. See also Fine Roll. 21 Rich. II. m. 5.

§ Harl. Charters, 51 H. 8.

for at a meeting of their craft "holden in the Guyhalde [Gildhall] of the town of Northampton" December 19th, 1511, it was ordained that a breach of certain of their rules should be punished by a fine of 40s. the "one halfe therof to be paied to the meir [mayor] for the tyme beyng as Comyn tresoure for the towne, And the other halfe to be paiede to the fraternyte of the trynnyte within the chyrche of all holowys of the same towne."*

In the century-and-a-half after its foundation, the Guild grew in wealth and importance, and at the time of the dissolution, it was found to possess lands and tenements bringing in an annual income of £72 1s.

The following is the return made by the Edwardian commissioners with regard to it.

COMITATUS NORTHAMPTON. CERTIFICATE, 35.

2 (Edwarde VI.)

Syr John Williams, Knight, Edwarde Gryffyth, and Richarde Cycyll, Esquyres, and John Mershe, Gentyلمان, Commissioners.

Hundredum de Spellowe.

1.—The Parish Church of All Seintes, in Northampton.

The Fraternyte of the Trynnyte and our Lady there.

Founded by Thomas Pyrrye and John Attwell too mainteine 4 preestes too singe and praye for euer for the soles of the seyde Thomas and John and their auncetors and for all the Bretherne and Sisters of the same Fraternitie for ever. Is worth by yere in Landes and Tenementes Lying and being in the Towne and Countie of Northampton, as by the Survey therof made particulerly apperythe £72 os. 12d.

	£	s.	d.
Rente Resolute	5	6	8
Too the pore yerely	0	16	2

Too Anne prentice, wydow, verye pore, Suntyme A syster of the same Brotherhed, wekely 8d.; and soe the hole yere amounteth to 34s. 8d.

Remaynythe to 3 preestes, daylly seruing and singing in the foresayd parish church, *videlicet*: to William Suckar, of the age of 51 yeres, £5 6s. 8d., by patent for terme of his lyffe vnder the Comen Seale of the seyde Fraternitie; Richard Wattes of the age of 54 yeres, £5 6s. 8d.; John Harvye, of the age of 57 yeres, £4. They are unmete to serue cure and haue no other lyving. £14 13s. 4d.

William Wood, of the age of 40 yeres, 40s. a yere and one howse of the valew of 10s. a yere, by patent for terme of lyffe. William Cockin, Organ player, of the age of 54 yeres, hath A like Annuytie of 40s. and one howse of 10s., by a like patent, and 26s. 8d. more for teachin childerne to sing. £6 6s. 8d.

Also to 3 singing men, *videlicet*: John Brightwen, of the age of 62 yeres; Edmund Kinwelmershe, of the age of 44 yeres; Thomas Chalton, of the age of 48 yeres; eche of them having for his stipend for terme of Lyffe, by patent, 40s. £6

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. 1, p. 332.

Simon Charelton, Sexton, of the age of 64 yeres hath for his stipende 16s. and one howse of 16s. a yere by patent for tearme of Lyffe 32s.

And so remaynth clere yerely £35 11s. 6d.

Goodes Remayning the 8th of December Last past, as apperythe perticulerly by an Inuentorye thereof 18s. 4d.

Plate parcell gylte, weying 20½ ounces.

Memorandum : preacher or Schole Master none ; pore people releved none ; other then douthe appere.

The Fraternity of the Rood.

In a list of "divers ornamentes and parcelles of stuffe latelye belonginge to divers fraternities and Guildes in Northampton" in the time of Edward VI., we find "A cote of crimesen velvet called the rode cote" and "Two cotes belonginge to the roode one of clothe of tusshewe and one of purple velvet w^t flowers of silke." In a deposition made by the Mayor, May 14th, 1549, with regard to Gild property, allusion is made to "The roodes cote off rede velvytt embroidery w^t gold."

It was not uncommon in our larger churches to have fraternities whose special duty it was to maintain the light or lights in front of the Rood or on the Rood-beam itself, and also to see to the fair condition and suitable apparelling of the Rood or central image—the Saviour—together with those of St. Mary and St. John. But the chief, and sometimes sole adornment, was reserved for the Rood itself, which was specially decked at the feasts of our Lord.

"Tusshew" cloth is the same as tissue, which was a cloth shot with gold or silver, but might be of any predominant colour.

The altar for this fraternity would stand in the nave, against the Rood screen, probably on the South side. The Northampton mediæval wills have several references to this Brotherhood. A will of 1513 leaves xij^d "to the Fraternite of holy Rode in the body of the church." Lawrence Bull, by will of 1516, leaves to this Fraternity "iiij^d and syngyng brede for a yere." "Singing bread" was the popular term for the round wafers used at the Eucharist.

Fraternity of St. George.

The most important matter in connection with this Gild, of which there is any record, is their association

with the great hall on the south side of Abington Street, which was known as St. George's Hall, and which seems to have been for a long time the largest public building in the town. It served as the Gild Hall for some of the most important of the Town Trades, such as the shoe makers, and as a convenient storeplace for the properties that were used for the town pageants and for the pewter and other vessels that the chamberlains kept for town and Gild feasts. A Town inventory made in 1554, gives a list of many dozen of pewter plates and dishes and of iron spits that were kept in this hall, in the hands of the town chamberlains.*

After the dissolution of the Gilds, it became a burning question whether this valuable property really belonged to the Fraternity of St. George at All Saints, or to the Corporation. If the former could be established, it would go the way of all the rest of the Gild plunder, and be forfeited to the Crown. If the contrary was the case, the Corporation could, of course, retain it as parcel of the town property. The statements as to the ownership are somewhat conflicting, but it would appear that St. George's Hall was originally the property of the Gild of that name, and that in later days, through being leased to the Corporation, the idea became prevalent in some minds that it was town property.

Among the Exchequer Depositions† in the Public Record Office for the year 1573, there is a portion of the results of a Commission appointed to enquire locally into this question. The following interesting account was given by the first witness:—

The despositions of William Chamberlen of Northampton, aged about 64.

Has known the fraternity of St. George in Northampton for 55 years, and was Mr. thereof about 39 years ago.

About 3 years before the death of King Henry VIII. the Mayor of Northampton and his brethren took into their hands all the possessions of the said fraternity, and with the rents and profits thereof, found a priest to sing and say Mass in "St. George his chapple" for the brethren and sisters of the said fraternity.

The Master of the said fraternity took the rents of a tenement called "St. George his haule" lying in Abington Street in Northampton, some-

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. 2. pp. 181-186.

† Exch: Depositions by Commission. Northants. 15 Eliz: Easter No. 7.

time in the tenure of William Baxter, 2 cottages in the said street and 1 stable in the parish of St. Giles.

Within the space of ten years, and 5 years before the dissolution thereof the Master of the said fraternity both let and set the said premises when any tenant departed and received the rents of those tenants who remained.

About 39 years ago the said hall was usually let for 20s. yearly, and the other 2 tenements for only 8s., because they were charged with repairs; one stable with a garden was let for 5s. by the year and another stable for 6s.

The Mayor and Chamberlains of Northampton have yearly received the rents of the said premises since the dissolution.

There was belonging to the said fraternity for the image of St. George one "head peace with a baver and sight of sylver, one Coller of Esses of sylver and gilte three fingers broode laid on Crimson vellett," 1 pair of silver candlesticks, 2 pair of silver cruets, 1 silver pax, 2 silver chalices. 2 vestments with all belonging thereto, "two complett harnesse" but not of sylver, and 1 arminge sword, 1 long cloak of blue damask, 3 spits and a pair of racks of iron, which said goods the Mayor and brethren of Northampton sold and repaired the said premises with the money.

Witness well knew St. George's Chapel in the church of All Saints in Northampton, and also knew three several priests one after another, called "St. George his priestes" of whom one was called Sir Richard Turre, the second Sir Richard Rusden, and the third Sir William Hargrave. They all said and sang Mass in the said chapel, and were paid their "wages" by the Masters of the said fraternity, with the rents of the said premises, so far as they extended, and the rest was paid upon the devotion of divers brethren and sisters of the said fraternity.

An orchard in St. Pulcher's parish, Northampton, was given by the last will of William Bounde, for the maintenance of a priest to sing before the "roode" in the parish church of All Saints in Northampton. The Mayor and Chamberlains have received the rents thereof since the statute made 1 Edward VI. for the abolishing of the mass.

Witness well knew Thomas Harteswold, dwelling in the parish of All Saints, Northampton. He was a joiner, and made the "Merkatt Crosse" in the said town. When he died he was living in the house wherein Richard Wharton dwells.

The depositions of Thomas Bott, ironmonger, Christopher Barnerde, and Thomas Pemmarton, of Northampton, were all taken, but contain no further information.

With regard to this deposition, it may be remarked that St. George's Hall was a single block of buildings, but the two tenements would probably be in the basement, for mediæval halls were always in the upper story. The armour, ornaments, and blue crimson mantle would be used for the adorning of the image of St. George when carried in procession on Corpus Christi day. The "baver" or beaver was that part of the helmet or head-piece which could be moved up and down, to enable the wearer to eat and drink. The "sight" was the perforation in a helmet through which the wearer looked.

The collar of SS. was the well-known badge of the house of Lancaster, and was worn in Tudor times by special grant from the sovereign. This collar for St. George of Northampton was probably a royal gift. The cruets, candlesticks, chalices, pax, and vestments would be for use in the chapel of St. George in the church of All Saints. The spits and racks obviously pertained to the Gild feast.

The right of the town to St. George's Hall was further disputed in 1581. It had been let by the Corporation to John Kirkland in 1568 on a twenty-one years' lease. The town papers contain a full series of depositions made before a Commission held at Northampton on May 19th, 1581. The interrogatories inquire whether the hall had belonged to the Fraternity of St. George. Ten witnesses made their deposition, the oldest of whom was eighty-five. An abstract of this evidence has been already printed in the *Northampton Borough Records*. It was somewhat conflicting, but the result was in favour of the town. The lower portion of St. George's Hall was used as a Bridewell or house of correction in the first part of the seventeenth century, but the whole disappeared in the great fire of 1675.

Among the goods of the suppressed Gilds in lay hands in the reign of Edward VI. were "alter clothes of blew velvet and a vestmente of grene damaske belonginge to Seinte George." Many of the Pre-Reformation wills mention small bequests of money to this Fraternity.

The Fraternity of St. Catharine.

In consequence of the frequent visitations of the plague in Northampton and the danger arising from burials round All Saints Church, in the very centre of traffic and business, a burial ground for such cases was enclosed on a vacant space between College Lane and Horsemarket. A chapel was built here dedicated to St. Catharine, for mortuary purposes, and for the use of those resident in infected houses. This was done some time in the fifteenth century, but the precise date is unknown. In 1460 mention is made of a Fraternity of St. Catharine. Many of the extant wills of the All Saints

parishioners at the beginning of the sixteenth century leave small bequests to "the Fraternity of St. Catherine in the new churchyard." From this it seems safe to assume that this fraternity existed for the praiseworthy object of assisting at the burial of those who died of the plague.

At the dissolution of the Gilds, Francis Samwell, a prominent townsman of Northampton, obtained by royal grant, much of their property, and chose to assume that the churchyard and chapel of St. Catharine were Gild property. The town and the parishioners of All Saints contested his right, both to St. Catharine's and to St. Leonard's in Far Cotton.

The following is a copy of the interesting petition presented to the Court of Augmentation by the townsmen, omitting the parts relative to the chapel of St. Leonard's.

To the right Wyrshipfull Sir Richard Sakevyle, Knight, Chauncellor of the Kinges Most honorable Corte of Thaugmentacon of the Revenues of His Crowne.

Whereas right worshipfull Mr. Chauncellr their is a pysshe church wthin the said towne of Northampton called ail hallowes, the whiche is the cheif and principal pysshe church wthin the said towne, and wthin the wehe said pysshe their are Resyant abowte the nomber of foure thousan p'sones, And wthin the wehe said pysshe their haythe ben out of tyme of memorie of man one other churcheyarde called Saint Katherin's and wthin the same churcheyarde one chappell of ease have ben lykewyse Buyldedd wtout tyme of memorie of man called Katerines Chappell and that for the save guard of the helthe of the inhabitantes of the said towne and of other straungers repaying to the said towne and parysye church of all hallowes and for thavoydyng of suche infeccous and pestiferous diseases as myght happen to arryse by the Common Resorting to the said parysye church by persones infected wt the Plage and by the outrageous or often buriall of Christen bodies in the church yarde in the said parysye of all hallowes wch standythe in the harte and myddes of the saide towne and compassed and invironed round about wth dwelling howses that hath ben used and accustomed out of tyme of the memorie of man as a chappell of ease by the dyscrecon and appoyntment of the Mayer and coburgesses of the said towne for to burie suche nomber of the pysshoners of the said pysshe of all Hallowes wthyn the said Saint Kateren's Churcheyarde as to them shulde be thought Mete and convenyent and also to comaund and appoynt the inhabitantes of such howses as wer infected wth the plage wthyn the said pysshe of all hallowes to repair to the said chappell of Saint Kateren's as to a chappell of ease and their to heare there dyvine service and to receive the comunon and not to resort to the said pysshe church of all hallowes. So yt is right-worshipfull Mr. Chauncellor that one Francis Samwell of Northampton aforsaid, gent, under the pretence that he hath p'chased of the Kinge's Ma^{tie} as he reportethe as well the said chappell of Saint Kateren's as also the church yard of St. Kateren's have plucked down and defaced the said chappell to the great damage of all the inhab-

itants of the said towne of Northampton and against all right and equitye in consideracon whereof y^t may please yo^r good Mastershipp to awarde the Kinges gracous letters under his privey seale unto the said Francis Samwell commaunding hym thereby personallie to appear before yo^r good Mastershipp in the Kinges Most Noble Cort of the Augmentacon of the revenues of the Crowne at a certen daye and under a certen pain therein to be conteined, then and there to make answer unto the premysses and to abyde such further order therein as to yo^r mastershipp shalbe thought to stande wth the right and conscience, and yo^r said oratours shall daylie pray to Godd for the preservacon of yo^r Mastershippe long to preserve and contynewe.*

In compliance with this petition, legal proceedings were taken, and on May 16th, 1549, interrogatories were administered to Henry Clerke, Mayor of Northampton, as well as to John Balguy, Lawrence Manley, Jun., Nicholas Rands, John Browne, and Ralph Freeman, who were prominent citizens, and each of whom subsequently attained to the mayoralty.

The four questions relative to St. Catharine's were as follows :—

- 1 First who was the first founder of the seid chapell of Seynt Kath'yne and to what intent.
- 2 Itm wether the maier for the tyme beyng and coburgesses of the seyde Towne hath founde any prest to saye divyne s'vice in the seid chapell and what wages they have gyven unto the seid prest.
- 3 Itm wether the seid maier for the tyme beyng and coburgesses of the seid Towne wer ev' at any charge in bestowing any reparcons upon the seid chapell or no.
- 4 Itm wether the seid chapell of Seynte Kath'yne hath not byn reputyd acceptyd and taken as a frat'nyte chapell and so callyd always heretofore.

The depositions taken in answer to these questions are of considerable length, and the following are the more important points to which they testify :—

Henry Clerk, mayor of Northampton, examined 16 May, 3 Edward VI., says to the first article that a vicar of All Hallows, whose name he knows not, was founder of the chapel of St. Katherine, to the intent that when the plague reigned in the town, they that died should be brought to the said chapel and buried in the churchyard of the same.

To the second he says that in time of sickness the parishioners appointed a priest of the parish church of All Hallows to bury those that died of the plague, and to say such divine service at the burial of them as then was accustomed, but standing wages the said mayor and his co-burgesses gave none to the priest but of their devotion. He further says that the shoemakers of the said town had resort to the said chapel, and every of them gave about 12d. a year towards the finding of the said priest.

* Court of Augmentations Proceedings, Bundle 27, No. 4.

To the third he says that the mayor and burgesses and the shoemakers of the said town repaired the said chapel at their own costs.

To the fourth he says that the said chapel time out of mind has been taken for a chapel of ease and never accepted, reputed nor taken for a fraternity chapel.

Nicholas Rands, of Northampton, draper, replied to the first and second questions in the same terms as above.

To the third he said that the gatherers of the said town, whereof a shoemaker was one, gathered of other inhabitants of the said parish and of strangers, money of devotion for the reparation of the said chapel, and so it was repaired.

John Balguy, of Northampton, haberdasher, said to the first he knows not who was the founder of the chapel of St. Catharine, but has seen written over the glass window upon the wall of the said chapel that a vicar of All Hallows built the said chapel.

The other witnesses deposed to a like effect.*

Suppression of the Gilds.

The suppression of the Gilds and the confiscation of their property has been justly described as the very meanest and most inexcusable of the plunderings which threw discredit on the Reformation. Mr. Toulmin Smith, himself a nonconformist, remarks that for the abolition of monasteries there was some colour, and it was preceded by professed inquiries as to their manners, but in the case of the Gilds, which were of far wider and general significance than the religious houses, there was no pretence of inquiry or any allegation of mischief save the vague one of encouraging superstition by Masses for the dead. He describes this action as "a case of pure wholesale robbery and plunder done by an unscrupulous faction to satisfy their personal greed under cover of Law. There is no more gross case of wanton plunder to be found in the history of all Europe: no page so black in English History."

The Act itself alleged in its preamble a desire on the part of the Government to devote the revenues to the foundation and improvement of grammar schools. This statement succeeded in diminishing the opposition of the more sturdy members of the two houses, but no sooner had Parliament separated than these hypocritical pretensions utterly disappeared. The outrageous conduct of the advisers of Edward VI. with regard to the actual spoliation of the schools themselves has been recently

* Augmentation Office Misc. Books, vol. 132, No. 173.

fully set forth in Mr. Leach's book *English Schools at the Reformation*.

The statute of 37 Henry VIII. gave the whole property of all colleges, hospitals, fraternities, and gilds to the King. Henry died before this wholesale confiscation had been accomplished, but Somerset, in a later Act, secured a renewal of the grant to Edward VI.

The purely trading Gilds did succeed in saving some of their secular property, but all their chapels, with ornaments, vestments, and lands or funds for the support of chaplains, were included in the common ruin.

The stronger Gilds, and particularly those attached in any way to Corporate bodies, sought under this pretext to save more than was intended from the spoilers' hands. In consequence of this, in addition to the general commission which visited every town and parish, special commissions were appointed in many cases to glean the arrears. It was alleged that the town of Northampton was a defaulter in this respect, and that certain of the fraternities or brotherhoods had kept back certain valuables that the Act compelled them to surrender.

The following detailed charge was made to the courts by one John Mershe or Marsh, who appears to have been an official sequestrator for the district :—

GILD PROPERTY.

Augmentation Proceedings.

Bundle 28. No. 80.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir Richarde Sakeville, Knt. John Mershe particular surveyor, of Kings Ma. landes in Co. N'ton. Divers ornaments and parcelles of stuff lately belonginge to divers fraternities and guildes in Northampton not presented nor certified to the Kinge's Majestie's Committe as apoynted for surveye of chaunteries, but remayninge in the handes of diverse persons as hereafter folowith.

Imprimis a coop with a vestemente and twoo Deacons wt all thinges thereto belonginge of blew tusshewe in the custody of Anthony Bryan.

Thre white copes of silke whereof one with egelle one Vestement and two Deacons with egelle and all thinges thereto belonginge in the custody of Nicholas Band.

One coope with a vestemente and ij. deacons wt all therto belonginge of blew in the custodie of Athony Hyll.

Thre white coopes of silk wherof one wt egille and all things therto belonginge in ye custodie of Nicholas Rands.

One vestement of crimesen velvet and vestement of Russet velvet wt all thinges thereto belonginge in the custody of Henry Clarke.

One pawle called or ladies pawle in the custodie of the churchwardens.

One cote of clothe of golde called Seint Stevens Cote and a cote of crimesen velvet called the rode cote, a aperne of red clothe of tusshewe called Seint Katerine's aperne in the custodie of Lawrence Manley.

Two Cootes belonginge to the roode, one of clothe of tusshewe and one of purple velvet, wth flowers of silke and alter clothes of blew velvet belonginge to Seinte George and a vestemente of grene damaske belonginge to seinte george.

Forasmuche as the parties above named were and are ready to deliver the thinges above mentoned yf the had not byn countermaunded by the Mayre, whose name is John Browne, glover, Therefore the said John Mershe beseecheth yor Maistership to award out of the honerable coorte a prevye seale against the saide John Browne commandinge hym therby to appere before y^r Maistership in this honerable coorte.

In consequence of this application, interrogatories were administered to the Mayor (Henry Clarke) and others in 1549. In his deposition he stated that there were books of accounts of three brotherhoods in the hands of John Brygstowell and Edmund Kelmarsh, their late wardens. These accounts showed that the wardens had returned the sum of £23 5s. 4d. to those who had contributed this amount, apparently since the suppression of the Gilds. He handed in the following particulars of payments made by and returned to brethren of the three Gilds of Our Lady, Corpus Christi, and the Holy Trinity.

PAYMENTS PAID BY BRETHERN OF O^R LADY, CORPUS CHRISTI, AND THE HOLY TRINITE.

Deposition
Augmentation Court,
3 Ed. VI.

	s.	d.
Mr. Mayer—harry Clerk paid to our Lady ..	viiij.	iiij.
Mr. Manley payd to o ^r lady, Corpus Christi, and the trinite	xlvi.	viiij.
Mr. Mowle paid to our lady, Corpus Christi and Trinite	xlj.	viiij.
Mr. Wilkynson to the iij ffraternytes forsaid ..	xlj.	viiij.
Mr. Rand to o ^r lady and Corpus Christi ..	xl.	
Mr. Neel to o ^r lady and Corpus Christi ..	xl.	
Mr. Bowers to our lady and Corpus Christi ..	xx.	
Mr. Brightwen to the same	xl.	
Mr. Barnard to the same	xxiiij.	iiij.
John Ward to o ^r lady and the Trinite ..	xxj.	
John Johnson to o ^r lady	xx.	
Raff Freman to our lady	xx.	
Hugh Steward to o ^r lady and Corpus Christi ..	xxiiij.	iiij.
Thomas Caswell to our lady and the Trinite ..	xviij.	viiij.
Thomas Bott to our lady	vj.	viiij.
Robert Bradwer to o ^r lady	v.	
John Quarreor to o ^r lady	x.	
Edmond Kynewelmershe to our Lady		xx.
Willm Robyns to o ^r lady	xv.	
Sum to ^t . ..	xxiiijli.	vs. iiijd.

The Mayor testified that the town possessed certain plate, which was always in the Mayor's house, but he never knew of any plate belonging to the brotherhoods save certain chalices which had already been delivered to Mr. Marsh.

Lawrence Manley, in his deposition, said that there had been sold by the churchwardens of All Saints within the year, certain plate to John Long, goldsmith, of Northampton, for the sum of £41 os. od. He added that it was church plate so far as he knew, and that part of it was a cross.

An attempt was made in the time of Philip and Mary to recover some of the lost Gild property and with that object a third Royal Commission was appointed* It met, however, with very little success. It was found that the bulk of the Gild property had been sold in the preceding reign and the profits squandered. Eventually the attempt to resuscitate the Gilds was given up and the remaining property sold by the crown. From MSS. in the British Museum, we learn that certain property formerly in the possession of the Trinity Gild, worth 72s. and other property which had previously belonged to the Gild of St. John Baptist, worth 38s. 4d. was sold in 1557 to Richard Lake, at twenty years' purchase, for £110 6s. 8d.

About the same time, a house and garden in Capp Lane, which had once belonged to the Gild of Corpus Christi, worth 8s., was also sold at twenty years' purchase. A memorandum is added to the effect that "Ther ar diverse quit rents p^d out of ye p'misses and of divers other londs and tenements of ye same possess^s to sundry persons, and because it is not nor cannot certenly be knowen out of w^{ch} p'ticlar p'cell the same be p'ticlarly paid I have therefor omytted them."

Pensions to Chaplains and others.

It is interesting to find that when the Gilds were suppressed, some consideration was shown to the Gild

* Chetham Society's Publications. *Lancashire Chantries*, vol. 59. *Sale of Gild Lands, Philip and Mary*. Harl. MSS. 606.

chaplains, to whom small pensions were assigned. As the crown had seized the whole of the Gild property, these pensions were paid out of the exchequer. A list of annuitants and pensioners 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, preserved among the additional MSS., in the British Museum gives us the names of the surviving ones, and of the Gilds to which they belonged.

It reads as follows :—

PENSIONS (2 AND 3 PHILIP AND MARY).

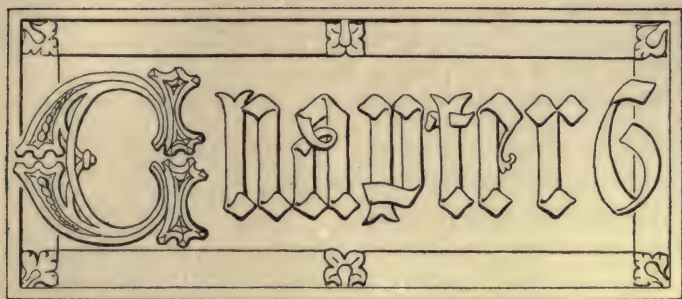
Fees, Coradies, and Pensions paid to members of the suppressed chantries out of the exchequer.

ANNUITIES :—

	s.	d.
To Edward Kendlemershe, late incumbent of the Gild of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary, Northampton	40	0
To William Chamberleyne, another chaplain of the same	40	0
To Martin Adams, ditto	40	0
To Thomas Chatten, ditto.. .. .	40	0
To William Cockinge, ditto	40	0
To Wm. Wood	40	0
To Simon Charleton, ditto	16	0
To Agnes Prentis (Almswoman of same Gild)	34	8
To Wm. Coke, lately minister in church of All Saints, Northampton	26	8

PENSIONS :—

	£	s.	d.
To Alexander Burton, late incumbent of chantry, (name not stated) of All Saints, in the town of Northampton	4	0	0
To Wm. Sucker, late incumbent of chantry of Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in church of All Saints, Northampton	5	0	0
To Wm. Atkins, late incumbent of chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of All Saints, Northampton	4	8	4
To Robert Mersey, one of the chantry incumbents in the church of All Saints, Northampton	4	0	0



THE COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS.

IT is perhaps necessary to state in the briefest way that the term college of All Saints had no connection with educational ideas, nor had this college much in common with the great collegiate churches of secular canons, such as Southwell, Beverley, or Wimborne. In the latter part of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of our more important parish churches were made collegiate, but their inmates were called chaplains or fellows and not canons. Such collegiate churches as All Saints held property in common, but had no cloister or chapter house. As will be seen from the foundation charter, the fellows lived and boarded together, and owed obedience to the warden.

The college of Battlefield, Salop, founded early in the fifteenth century, seems to have been on much the same lines as that of All Saints. In that case the members were called chaplains. They had a common manse or college house, and took their daily meals at a common table, but each had his own chamber. They paid half their stipend to the college for rooms and board; had to swear the usual "regular obedience" to the master; and were not allowed to leave the college without his special

permission. They were forbidden to marry, and were expected to spend their time in conducting the services in the choir of their collegiate church.*

The object of the foundation of the college of All Saints, Northampton, will best be gathered from a perusal of the licence to found it, preserved for us in the Patent Rolls of 38 Henry VI.

The following is a translation of the Latin original:—

THE COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS.

Concerning the Founding of the College.

The King to all whom etc. greeting.

Founded at
the request of
Wm. Breton,
D.D., vicar of
All Saints.

Sixteen or
more clergy.

The vicar of
All Saints and
the Fraternity
chaplains have
long lived
together in
collegiate
fashion.

In a house
called the
Priests' House.

Wm. Breton
therefore begs
the King to
found a
College.

The King is
pleased to
found a
College.

Know that we have learned that of the pious devotion and religious purpose of Master William Breton, Doctor of Divinity, perpetual vicar of the parish church of All Saints, in our town of Northampton, divine service has for a long time been daily maintained in the same church in a fitting and praiseworthy way, after the manner of a college, by the vicar himself and the chaplains of the Fraternities of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Corpus Christi, St. George, the Rood, St. John Baptist, and St. Catherine the Virgin in the aforesaid town, as well as by many other stipendiary priests to the number of sixteen parsons [*sexdecim parsonarum*] or more, to the praise and glory of Almighty God, the most glorious Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ and all the saints, as well as by many other stipendiary priests, as of their predecessors, and by God's grace it is still being kept up and will be kept up and further increased in the future. And because they, the vicar and priests aforesaid, have spent and are spending their lives—especially in the time of the said vicar—away from the society of lay folk, constantly day and night observing, like fellow members of a college, divers statutes, ordinances, and laws, not only in the church as is fitting, but also in a certain message or close, (belonging and pertaining to the said vicar and to the priests of the aforesaid Fraternities and their successors) commonly called the priests' house [*le Prestis house*]. The said vicar has therefore humbly entreated us graciously to condescend to make, create, found, and for ever establish, a certain perpetual college in the aforesaid church, consisting of a warden and fellows.

We, after due consideration of these premisses, being favourably inclined towards the petition of the said vicar and wishing that those things which are had and used for the edification and augmentation as well of divine worship as of priestly character, should as far as in us lies be increased and augmented, to the praise, glory, and honour of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of the most Blessed Virgin Mary aforesaid, and of all the saints, of our special favour do make, create, found, and estab-

* J. H. Wylie's *Henry IV.* Vol. iii., p. 241.

Consisting of the vicar, the priests of Fraternities, and any other Priests whom they may elect.

In future the vicar of All Saints shall be called vicar and warden of the College.

The society shall be called "The Warden and Fellows of the College." And under that title shall plead or be impleaded in the Law Courts.

The warden in augmentation of his benefice or the fellows towards the repairs of the College May acquire lands to the net value of twenty marks per annum. Without payment of any fine or fee. Notwithstanding the statute of Mortmain. Until it is shewn by inquisition, duly returned to Court of Chancery that damage is being done to King or others.

Licence is also granted to the College to draw up its own rules and regulations.

For the good estate of King, Queen, Prince Edward, etc.

lish by these present a perpetual College in the said parish church of All Saints, in our town of Northampton and in the messuage or close aforesaid, to continue for ever, consisting of the said vicar and the priests of the Fraternities aforesaid and their successors, the vicars and the priests of these Fraternities for the time being, and any other priests who shall be nominated, elected and admitted into the College as fellows by the aforesaid vicar and priests of the aforesaid Fraternities and their successors for the time being.

Further, we wish and concede by these present that the aforesaid William Breton and his successors, the vicars of the church aforesaid, shall be and be called vicars and wardens of the college and that the said vicar and his successors, and the priests of the Fraternities and their successors and all other priests elected as aforesaid, shall form one perpetual corporate body, and shall implead and be impleaded under the title of "The Warden and Fellows of the College of All Saints in the town of Northampton" in all and singular courts, of us and our heirs, and in all other courts whatsoever in all and singular matters, actions, pleas, and complaints, real, personal, or mixed, in any way touching the aforesaid College, moved by or against them for the future.

And that the aforesaid vicar and warden of the College aforesaid and his successors in augmentation of his benefice, and the priests aforesaid, his fellows, and their successors, of the aforesaid College, in support of the repairs of the place aforesaid and the relief of the same, may acquire for themselves and their successors for ever, lands, tenements, rents, and dues not held of us by military service, to the value of twenty marks per annum net, without paying to us any fine and without any fee for these our letters patent in our Court of Chancery or in the Hanaper of the same, notwithstanding the statute forbidding the putting of lands and tenements into Mortmain, or any other statutes, ordinances, acts, provisions, restrictions, or other matters whatsoever. Until it is ascertained by Inquisition taken on this behalf and duly returned into the Court of Chancery, of us and our heirs that damage or prejudice is likely to be done to us or any others, any statutes, acts, provisions, restrictions, or other matters whatsoever made to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Further, we grant and give licence by these present, for us and our heirs aforesaid, to the vicar, warden, and fellows aforesaid and their successors, that they have authority and full power to make statutes and ordinances among themselves, for celebrating Mass for divine service, and for the observance of good morals and the extirpation of evil, for the good estate of us and our dear wife Margaret, Queen of England, and of Prince Edward, our dear son while we live, and for our souls when we depart from this world, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, and to make from time to time other statutes and ordinances for the good and honour of the College aforesaid.

Given at Westminster, March 13th, by writ, under our Privy Seal.*

* Patent Rolls 38 Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 1.

From this document we gather that the object of the founder was to provide a house in which the various Gild chaplains of All Saints might live together under a definite rule. The endowment was very small and seems never to have reached anything approaching to the twenty marks specified in the royal licence. Still it was doubtless sufficient for the object contemplated by the founder. The fellows were not dependent on the College for their maintenance, which they received from their respective Gilds. As at Battlefield, they would probably be expected to pay a considerable portion of their stipend for their board and lodging, and the small endowment of the College would cover other expenses.

The Pre-Reformation wills in the Northampton Probate Office furnish us with some interesting particulars, which help to throw light on the life lived by the fellows.

Sir Thomas Sergeant, vicar of St. Giles, by his will dated 1531, leaves "to ev' y preste dwelling w'tin the college of all hallowes goeing to their comons a crysom to be ther napkyns."

Agnes Tattam of All Saints parish leaves [1517] "to an honest preste to syng in Seynt James' chapell for a whole yere, he to bord in ye college and kepe dayly serving as hys bretheren do, viij. marks sterlyng."

William Gough, in 1528, desires that "ther be one dyryge and Masse songe yerly in ye chapyll of oure lady [in All Saints' church] by the vicar and prests of ye college for ever."

In the same year Richard Bott bequeaths "to the colege a gardyn that William Dixson hathe. I will that they syng a diryge and masse for me every yere. Also I will that the Mayr offer at the masse and take up viij^d. of the fforsayd gardyn."

With regard to the income of the College, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. furnishes us with the following particulars:—

THE COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS.

Is worth in rents and dues	..	..	liijs. iiij ^d .
OUTGOINGS—		s.	d.
Rents resolute to the Abbot of St. James	viiij.		
To the Prior of St. Andrew	..	v.	
To John Turpyn..	..	..	xii.
There remains..	..	xxxix.	iiij.
			} xiiij ^s .

The return is made by John Chatten and William Jackson, two of the fellows.

From the same source we learn that the vicar of All Saints, who was also warden of the College, paid to the College xvjd. for the privilege of having a private entrance.

In the succeeding reign the income appears to have fallen to xlixs. It was derived from the following sources :—

xxxij^s. in rents of tenants at will in Northampton as follows, etc.
 (here follow the names of the tenants and their holdings.)
 xvij^s. of the farm of divers stables, gardens and orchards, closes, etc.
 (here follow the names of the tenants.)
 Total xlix^s.*

The iniquitous Act of 1 Edward VI., by which all Colleges, Chantries, and Gilds were dissolved, and their revenues vested in the crown, has been alluded to in the previous chapter. With a view to the carrying out of this act of spoliation, commissioners were sent out to survey the property of all such religious bodies, and were ordered to return "certificates in writing of their doings of the same" into the Court of Chancery. Two of these "certificates," which relate to the College of All Saints are still to be found in the Public Record Office.

They read as follows :—

CERTIFICATE OF COLLEGES. No. 35. 2 Ed. VI.

One college there called all hallow college, otherwyse the prestes howse. Founded not knowen by whom but the vicar and the prestes serving in the same churche have had their habitacon and gone to bourd there. Is worth by yere in Landes and Tenements as by the survey thereof made particularly apperith xlixs.

Whereof in rente resolute xiiij^s. ijd.
 And soe remayneth to the use of the said prestes
 towards ther bourde xxxiiij^s. xd.
 Goodes geven solde or spoiled sythe the xxiijd. daye
 of November, A^o xxxvij. H. viij., none.
 Remaying the viijth December last past as
 apperith particulerly by an Inventorye thereof xliij^s. viijd.
 Plate none.

Memorandum. Precher, Schole Mr. or pore men at any tyme to be relevyd within the said college—none.

There is of houseling people the number of M.

* Ministers' Accounts. 1 & 2 Edward VI. No. 34.

CERTIFICATE OF COLLEGES. No. 36.

COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS.

The vicarage otherwyse caulled the colledge of all hallowes. Founded to thentent the vicare and all the prestes of the church of all sayntes in Northampton might lye there And go to com'ons all together after a collegall maner. And other mancon howse for the vicare there ys none. The said colledge or vicarage is no pyssh church The valewe of the Londes appertyning to the saide colledge, wth xiijs. iiij^d. for the scite of the mansyon house, xlix^s. whereof

Rentes Resolute	xiiij.	ij.	} xxxijs. i. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
The Kinges Tenthes ..	..	ij.	xj. $\frac{1}{4}$
Yerelie repacons ..	..	xv.	

The valewe of the godes to the saide vycarage belongyng xliijs. viij^d.
And so Remaineth xvijs. x^d. ob. qr.

The site of the College was granted in 1548 to Wm. Ward and Richard Venables. The fellows' garden in College Lane, together with another garden and stable belonging to the College, was sold in the same year to Francis Samwell. The particulars of this latter sale are to be found in the Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books, in the Public Record Office. They are as follows :—

SALE OF COLLEGES. 2 Ed. VI.*

Property in College lane, a garden which the vicar of all saints and all the Priests of sd church lately occupied .. .. .	..	..	..	xiiij.	iiij.
And a stable with a garden in same lane in tenure of Rich. Wilkinson .. .. .	..	..	..	v.	
Total				xviiij.	iiij.

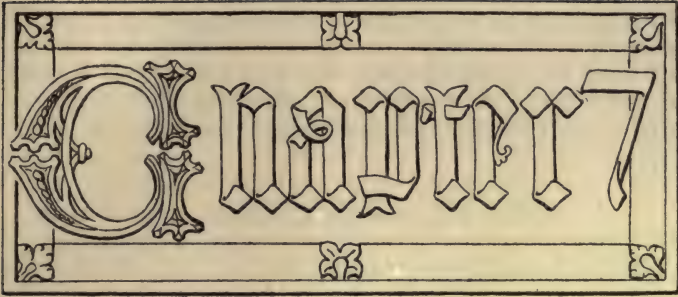
Md: that ther apperyth no foundacon And all the Brethren Prestes of all Hallowes dyd evenly lye and bord there together. There is no leade belonging to the seyde colledge but there is one Bell which hangeth on the hall to call the Prestes to Dynere praysyd at vs.

xxiiij ^{to} Junii Anno Secundo	The clere yerely value of the premisses ..	xviijs. iiij ^d .
Regis Edwardi Sexti pro	Whiche rated at ye	
Francisco Samwell de	[ten] yeres purchase	
Northampton, Generos.	amounteth to ..	ixli. iijs. iiij ^d .
	To be paid all in hand.	

[The money was paid two days later, on June 26th.]

In the next century the College was in the possession of Abraham Ventris, and in the terrible visitation of the plague in 1603-5, was lent by him to the Corporation "to the intent thither and there to bring and place infected persons." In 1607 the Assembly voted him forty shillings as a recompense for the injury done to his house.

* Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books 68, p. 404.



PRE-REFORMATION CHAPELS, LIGHTS, BOOKS, AND
ORNAMENTS.

MUCH information respecting the arrangement and ordering of our mediæval churches may be gleaned from Pre-Reformation wills. This is especially the case with regard to All Saints. We know from other sources that the church before its destruction in 1675 must have been a very large and imposing structure, but these mediæval wills furnish us with the names of a considerable number of the chapels into which it was divided. They also give us a certain amount of information as to the images, lights, books, and ornaments used in the church in its unreformed days. It is proposed in this chapter to give such extracts from these wills as tend to illustrate the former uses of the church, and the ornaments of its respective altars.

The High Altar.

Every pious churchman in Pre-Reformation days felt it incumbent upon him to make a bequest, however small, to the high altar, and the parishioners of All Saints were no exception to the rule, these bequests ranging from 4d. to £5.

Anne Shefford, in 1542, leaves "vjs. viij^d. to y^e hye alter for to by a mase booke and alter cloth."

The will of Joan Parker, four years earlier, contains a very curious bequest:—"I wyll that my best coveryng and a fyne shete shalbe leyd upon mey body whan hyt ys borne to the church and aftur my body be buried I wyll they shall remayn unto the hye awtur and to make off the shete an awtur cloth and the coveryng to do onor unto the blessyd sacrement so long as y^t wyll last."

The Light before the Sacrament.

The Sacrament was only allowed to be reserved before the High Altar, and a light was invariably kept burning before it. Joan Parker, whose will has just been quoted, left 3s. 4d.

"To the mendyng of the lawmp that was before the Sacrement in the hye quere."

The Sepulchre Light.

On Maundy Thursday, the Sepulchre, which was sometimes a permanent stone structure, but more usually a movable one of wood,* richly embellished, was prepared on the north side of the sanctuary. Early on Good Friday morning the altar was stripped, and the reserved Sacrament removed from the pyx over the altar and placed in a special receptacle in the sepulchre, together with the crucifix. The perpetual lamp before

* The following is a quaint description of an Easter Sepulchre, made in 1470 for the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol:—"Item that Maister Canyne hath delivered this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1470, to Maister Nicholas Petters vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, a new sepulchre gilt with golde, and a civer thereto. Item an image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre with all the ordinance that longeth thereto, that is to say, a lathe made of timber and the iron work thereto. Item thereto longeth Heaven made of timber and stayned clothes. Item Hell made of timber thereto, with Divils to the number of 13. Item 4 knights armed, keeping the sepulchre with their weapons in their hands; that is to say 2 axes and 2 spears, with 2 paves (*i.e.* shields). Item 4 payr of Angels wings for 4 angels made of timber and well painted. Item the Fadre, the Crowne, and visage, the ball with a cross on it well gilt with fine gold. Item the Holy Ghost coming out of Heaven into the sepulchre. Item longeth to the 4 Angels, 4 chevelures (*i.e.* perukes)"—Vide Bloxam's "*Principles of Gothic Architecture*" vol. 2, p. 106.

the Sacrament was taken down and affixed to a stand in front of the sepulchre. Other lights were generally kindled at the same place and the sepulchre was solemnly watched, continuously from the time of its erection until the dawn of Easter, when the Host was replaced over the altar. On Easter eve all the lights were solemnly extinguished. The hallowed or holy fire was kindled in the church porch by a burning glass where the sun was strong enough, and otherwise by a new flint and steel. From this fire was first kindled the great paschal candle, often of immense size, and afterwards other lamps or candles. This great taper was kept burning on the north side of the altar through the octave of Easter at all services, and sometimes continually. Occasionally it was kept alight till Holy Thursday.

The numerous bequests towards the "Sepulchre Light" at All Saints and usually found everywhere in English mediæval wills would be in the first instance for the light or lights used at the end of Holy week before the sepulchre, but probably the term also includes in many instances the very costly Easter candle. The paschal candle at Westminster, in 1457, weighed 300 pounds, and fifteen pounds was a modest size for use in one of our smaller country churches.

The Torches.

The torches or serges were great candles found in more or less profusion in all our English Pre-Reformation churches. They were usually carried in procession at funerals, and burnt during the obsequies and at the Requiem Mass by the side of the body. They were not of pure wax, and were brown in colour. A considerable proportion of resin was used; in some instances nearly one half. When the services were over, by far the greater part of these great candles still remained, even after they had been re-lighted for a monthly or other memorial Mass or service. It was then customary to remove them to burn in front of different images or altars, or to use them subsequently for the burial of the poor. The various Gilds usually considered themselves responsible for maintaining certain of these serges or torches. In the great church of All Saints, Derby, seventy-eight of

these serges were "upholden by the gilds." The area of the church of All Saints, Northampton, was larger, and it probably had at least as many as the chief church of Derby. Thomas Dodington, of All Saints, Northampton, by his will, dated 1530, desired "that my wyffe by or cause to be bowght vj. torches to burne at my buryall and moneth mynde and immediately after to be dyvided to the fraternytes befforesaid."

It was usual for the parish to provide these torches ready for the burial of the poorer classes, and most Pre-Reformation wills contain a small legacy for the maintenance of these massive candles. At Tintinhull, Somerset, in 1440, the wardens made four immense torches for parochial use. For this purpose they bought forty-seven pounds of wax at 29s. 3d., and forty-three pounds of resin at 4s., and yarn for the wicks at fifteen pence. The man who made the torches was paid two shillings for his three days' work, whilst the wardens spent twenty pence on food and drink for the chandler and for themselves whilst watching him.

We now proceed to notice the various chapels into which the church was divided.

The Chapel of Corpus Christi.

Sir Richard Rushden, Priest of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi (1538), desires to be buried "in the chappell of Corpus Xpi in the churche of all hawlos"; and in the same year, Joan Parker leaves "to the awtur of Corpus Xpi ij. gret canstycks [candlesticks]."

It is probable that the Bakers were connected in some way with this chapel (possibly they maintained one of the lights), for one of their ordinances was drawn up "*in capella corporis christi*" October 28th, 1494.

Two Masses were said daily in this chapel by the chaplains of the Gild of Corpus Christi.

The Lady Chapel.

Numerous references to the chapel of Our Lady are to be found in Pre-Reformation wills. To take one or two instances:—John Say [1514] leaves his body to be buried "in ye chapell of our Lady in ye parich chyrch of alhalows."

John Carter [1527] leaves "to the ij. clarkys off alhallows yf they come to my dyryge and masse iiij^d. a peece and to the children of o^r lady chapell in alhallows every of them a peny."

Thomas Dodington [1530] bequeaths £5 6s. 8d. for a priest to say Mass for him "by the space of ij. yeres at o^r. lady autor at vij. of clocke."

Thomas Chipsey, the founder of the Grammar School, by deed [June 1st, 1541] orders the trustees to give 10s. a year "to such of the boys as should be nominated by the wardens of the fraternity of the Blessed Mary to sing at Mass in the chapel of our Lady in the church of All Saints."

In 1553 the town records were placed in the church of All Saints for safe keeping, and the assembly agreed at a meeting in October of that year that "all the Recordes shalbe be putt in the vestry of our lady chapell in a presse to be lokked with iij. lokkes and to have iij. keys thereto and to be in severall mens keeping that is to say in the maiors for one, another in the keeping of one of the xxiiij. and the third in the keeping of one of the xlvij. yerly from hensforthe."

In the Lady Chapel, the Gild or Fraternity of Our Lady held their services. Three Masses were said daily by their chaplains (at dawn, at 6, and between 9 and 11), and at sunset a choral service was provided at their expense.

The usual situation of the Lady chapel in our larger English churches was at the further east end of the choir, behind the High Altar, and we know that this was the case in the great church of All Saints, from Mr. Lee's MSS. history.

The Rood Chapel

is alluded to in the will of John Gryffyn [1527]. He leaves "to the Roode chappell in the church ij. torches pret. the peece ijs. vj^d. [worth 2s. 6d. apiece]."

Thomas Grace, in the preceding year, bequeathed to "the Rode altare ijd."; and William Bounde left an orchard in St. Sepulchre's parish for the maintenance of a priest to sing before the Rood in the church of All Saints.

The Weavers' Gild maintained a light in this chapel.

One of their ordinances, made 1431-32, ordained that "ev'ry maister of the seide crafte pay yerely to her light and torches ij^d. and every journeyman ij^d. the which shalbe rered and gedered bi the seide maisters so chosen and the maisters of the journeymen, the which with other goodes that casuelly fallen to the comyn use shall be putte into a boxe that shal abyde in the warde of the ij. maistres of the maistres of the crafte. And the keyes of the same box shall remayne and abide in the warde of the ij. maistres of journeymen. So that no deceite shall be had among them. With the whiche godes so rered and hadde to her comyn use, as well the light att the house of Seint Marie de la Pre As the light that hath and shalbe continued bifore the Rode in the body of the chirche of all halewen in Northampton in the great pace of the same chirche shalbe founden duly and truly ev'ry yere in the worship of God, oure lady and all his seintes without gruchyng [grudging]."*

The Fishmongers also had an interest in these lights. By one of their ordinances (dated 1467) it was ordered that anyone selling sea fish at an unlicensed stall should have his fish confiscated. Half the proceeds were to be devoted "to the sustynaunce of the lightes in the high pace afore the Rode in the chirche of all halowes, whiche hath beyn longe tyme mayntened by the persones sellyng suche maner fysshe."†

The lights on the rood-beam, in front of the rood, were often so numerous that "candle beam" became a synonymous term in some parts of England. These were distinct from the light before the rood altar, in the body of the church, which would stand within a parclose or screen in the central aisle or "great pace," probably to the south of the screen gates.

The Chapel of St. James

is mentioned in the will of Agnes Tatham [1517]. She leaves "viij. marks sterlyng to an honest preste to syng in Seynt James chapell for a hole yere, he to bord in ye colege and kepe dayly serving as hys brethern do."

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. 1, p. 270.

† Ibid vol. 1, p. 238.

St. Anne's Chapel.

The only reference to this chapel which we have noticed occurs in the will of Richard Lucas [1538]. He leaves "to the yle of Saynt Anne a shepe."

The Chapel of St. Syth.

St. Osyth or St. Syth, to whom this chapel was dedicated, gives her name to a village on the Essex coast. One of the legends connected with her states that she was blown off a bridge into a river, and after being under water for three days, came up again alive and well! She was specially invoked by people whose business took them across the water.

That one of the chapels in All Saints was dedicated to her, we learn from the will of John Pratt [1519] who leaves "to the sustentacon and meyntenaunce of the chappell of Seynt Syth in the church of All Sents xij^d." One of the chapels in Oundle church was similarly dedicated. Various images of St. Osyth are mentioned in Kent wills. There were several altars in her honour in Yorkshire and Derbyshire; in short, hers was a favourite cult throughout mediæval England.

The Chapel of St. George

was in the south aisle or rather transept of the church. This we learn from the will of John Pratt [1519] who leaves his body to be buried "in the sowth yle of same chyrch betwixt the chappell of Seynt George and the ault' of Seynt Syth."

Robert Hastell, in 1526, wishes to be interred "in the churchyarde of all halows under Seynt George chapell."

In 1539, Richard Henley leaves "to y^e chappell of Saynt George in the church of All Saynts iiij^d. to by betyng candell wyth."*

* Beeting candles are alluded to in Smith's accounts in *Sharpe's Coventry Mysteries* [1478]

"half a pound of betyng candills iiij^d."

Ibid. 1521. "for making of ij. pounds of betyng candle ij^d."

Beeting was a mixture of pitch and resin. In Dyer's accounts in *Sharpe's Coventry Mysteries*, we find under date of 1519:—

In St. George's chapel the Gild of the same name met for their devotions. They had their own chaplains whose duty it was daily "to say and sing Mass in the said chapel."

Among the possessions of the Gild we notice "1 pair of silver candlesticks, 2 pair of silver cruets, 1 silver pax, 2 silver chalices, and 2 vestments with all belonging thereto," which would doubtless be used at their services.

The Chapel of St. John Baptist.

There are many references to this chapel in mediæval wills. In 1512 William Humphrey leaves his body to be buried "in the chapell off Sent John Baptist in the church of Alhalows," and four years later Laurence Bull bequeaths "to Sent John Bapte iiijd. and syngyng brede for a yere." In 1552 Margaret Wheeler wills that "a prest syng for me at the aut' of Sainte John Baptyst in the chyrch of all hollowys"; while in 1534, Ralph Heywarde leaves "to the chapel of Saint John Baptist in the church of all hallowys in Northampton oone spruce cheaste [a deal chest]."

Here the Gild of St. John Baptist assembled for their devotions, and supported two chaplains to say daily masses.

The Fullers' Gild maintained three lights in this chapel, as appears by one of their ordinances made in the thirty-first year of Henry VI. [1452]. It was there decreed that one half of their fines should go to the "sustenance of thre tapres in the chyrche of allhalowen afore Seint John Baptiste. And forasmyche as the forfeiture of suche fynes for offences is but casuall to the

"payd for the bettyng to ye cressett iiijd.

for a man for beryng the bettyngs both nyght iiijd.

1521. payd for viii^{li}. of pyche for the bettyngs to the cressett viij^{li}.

payd for vij^{li}. of Ressyn to the same vjd."

The word (which is a rare one) was sometimes written "beeter."

"1530. A pound of Betars for Judas light vjd."

Peshall's *History of Oxford*, 217.

There are several allusions to beeting candles in the will of John Tayler, of Mears Ashby (1519). He leaves:—To ye light of Saynt John Baptist a strike of barley to fynd betyng candell to burne befor hym; to ye light of Saynt Antony a strike of barly to fynd beting candell to bren afor hym; to ye light of Saint Kateryn [the sum left is omitted] to fynd betyng candell to bren afor her; to ye light of Saynt Thomas of Canterbury a strike of barly to fynd betyng candell to burne afore hym."

sustinaunce of the seide lyght. That it lyke you to ordeyn that every ffuller which has nott bien Apprentice to the same crafte in the toun of Northt. by the terme of iiij. yere at the leste that shall sett up crafte and occupie housholde in the same toun paie to the sustinaunce of the seide lightes vjs. viij^d. And yerely aftir duryng his occupation he and ev'y housholder of the same crafte to sustentacion of the same lightes iiij^d."*

The Chapel of the Trinity.

The existence of this chapel we gather from the wills of Margaret Duddington [1534], who desires "that a preest syng for my soule at the Trinytie aulter in the church of all Saintes;" and from that of Robert Long [1538], who leaves his body to be buried in the cherche of all hallows before the Trynyte."

It was the meeting place of the powerful Trinity Guild, who maintained four chaplains to celebrate Mass at their special altar.

St. John the Evangelist.

That an altar was dedicated to this saint, we learn from the will of John Loring [1528] who bequeaths "to Saynt John Evangelyst altar iiij^d."

Our Lady of Pity and Our Lady of Grace.

In addition to the above-named chapels and altars, there were, in the church of All Saints, figures of Our Lady of Pity and Our Lady of Grace. Small sums of money were sometimes left for the purchase of candles to burn before these figures on special occasions. For instance, in 1528, a certain Richard Curtis left "to oure lady of Grace xij^d. and to oure lady of comforth xij^d. Our Lady of Pity (or Comfort) was a representation of the Blessed Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees. Our Lady of Grace was, in all probability, a term for the Virgin with the holy child in her arms. It was by no means unusual, particularly in England, where the cult of the Virgin seems to have attained its greatest height, to find many different images of her in the same church.

* Northampton Borough Records, vol. 1, p. 292.

For instance, at Horncastle, the church, dedicated to St. Mary, had lights burning before seven different images of the Blessed Virgin—Our Lady of Grace, Our Lady in St. Nicholas' choir, at the high altar's end, at the font, on the south side of the church, on the north side of the church, and in the porch.

Ornaments, Vessels, &c.

In 1530 Thomas Doddington left "to the church of all hallowes x^{li}. money or plate to make a pix for the sacrament and that my brother [?Louis] make the said pix after such a goodly maner as he can devyse." The pyx was the vessel for the reserved Host, used for carrying Communion to the sick. The English use was to suspend it over the high altar by silken cords. The pendant pyx was always of some costly material, usually ivory, gold, or silver. It was sometimes made in the form of a dove.

In 1531, Hugh Melling left to the church a monstrance (*unum monstrale*). The monstrance was a vessel of precious metal in which the Host was carried in solemn procession and exposed on the altar. To the Gild of Corpus Christi in All Saints, the same Hugh Melling left "a staff for a torch with a taper upon it weighing three pounds (*bacillum portativum cerii cum uno cerio superimposito ponderanti tres libras*)." He also bequeathed to the church his "lantern with the machine* belonging thereto (*lucernam meam cum machina sibi attinenti*) to remain in the custody of the churchwardens and clerks of All Saints, to be borne before the Eucharist and for other necessary uses as need require." A lamp or lantern on a shaft, for oil or wax light preceded the priest when carrying the reserved Sacrament to the dying. It was also used in funeral processions to the grave.

Books.

With regard to the books in use at All Saints before the Reformation, we get some interesting information from

* The machine attached to Hugh Melling's lantern was probably an apparatus for striking a light. In an inventory of church goods at St. Andrew's, Cherry Hinton, occurs the following:—"ij. Turibula cum Lanterna et patella ad ignem [fire pan]," which seems to corroborate this view.

the will of the above-mentioned Hugh Melling, who was vicar of the church from 1511 till 1530, when he resigned. In his will, dated November 29th, 1531, he leaves his "*Psalter* with antiphons, which he had formerly been accustomed to use in the choir," to the church of All Saints, Northampton. To the church of Farthingstone, which he had held in conjunction with that of All Saints, he bequeathed "a small *Missal* with book markers (?) attached (*cum registris annexis*), an imperfect *Processionale*, and a large and perfect *Portiforium* or *Breviary*."

It will be well here to quote from a valuable article by the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw on Pre-Reformation books and services.*

"In the old church of England, the services were either

- (1) For the different hours (Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline), said in the choir.
- (2) For Processions, in the church or churchyard,
- (3) For the Mass said at the altar, or
- (4) For occasions such as Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Burial, &c., said as occasion required.

"Of these four, all have their counterparts, more or less in the English service of modern times, as follows:—

- (1) The hour services, of which the principal were Mattins and Vespers, correspond to our Morning and Evening Prayer.
- (2) The Procession services correspond to our hymns or anthems.
- (3) The Mass answers to our Communion service.
- (4) The occasional services are either those used by a priest, such as Baptism, Marriage, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, etc., or those reserved for a bishop, as Confirmation, Ordination, Consecration of Churches, etc.

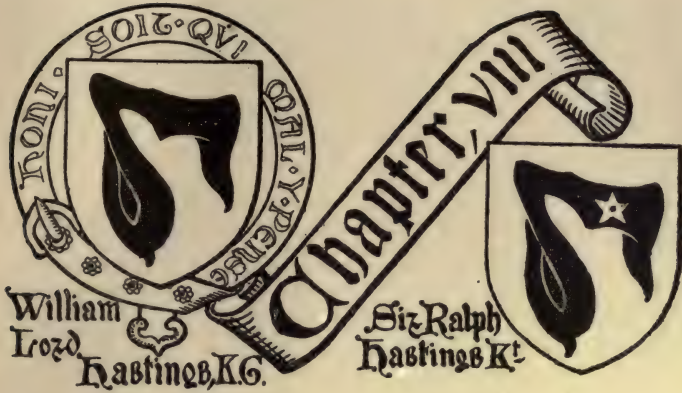
"All these services but the last mentioned are contained in our Prayer Book with all their details, except the lessons at Mattins and Evensong, which are read from the bible, and the hymns and anthems which are, since the sixteenth century, at the discretion of the authorities.

* *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints, Derby.* By Rev. J. C. Cox, and Mr. St. John Hope. In the Appendix is a Note by H. Bradshaw, Esq., librarian of the University Library, Cambridge.

“This concentration or compression of the services into one book is the natural result of time, and the further we go back the more numerous are the books which our old inventories show. To take the four classes of services and service books mentioned above:—

- (1) The Hour-services were latterly contained so far as the text was concerned, in the *Breviarium* or *Portiforium*, as it was called by preference in England. The musical portions of this book were contained in the *Antiphonarium*.
- (2) The Procession services were contained in the *Processionale* or *Processionarium*, of which the anthem book of our cathedral and collegiate churches and the hymn book of our parish churches are the legitimate successors.
- (3) The Mass, which we call the Communion service was contained in the *Missale*, so far as the text was concerned. The Epistles and Gospels being read at separate lecterns, would often be written in separate books, called *Epistolaria* and *Evangeliaria*. The musical portions of the altar service were latterly all contained in the *Graduale* or *Grayle*, so called from one of the principal elements being the *Responsorium Graduale* or respond to the *Lectio Epistolæ*.
- (4) The occasional services, so far as they concerned a priest, were, of course, more numerous in old days than now, and included the ceremonies of *Candlemas*, *Ash Wednesday*, *Palm Sunday*, etc., besides what were formerly known as the Sacramental services. The book which contained these was in England called the *Manuale*, while on the continent the name *Rituale* is more common. No church could well be without one of these. The purely episcopal offices were contained in the *Liber Pontificalis* or Pontifical, for which an ordinary church would have no need.”

Vicar Mellyng, then, appears to have had for his own use a copy of the Breviary and a Psalter with antiphons, for the Hour-services; a *Processionale* for the Procession services; and a *Missale* from which to say Mass. The church of All Saints doubtless possessed one or more copies of the *Manuale*.



THE CHURCHES OF ST. GREGORY AND ST. MARY.

IN the sixteenth century the ancient parishes of St. Gregory and St. Mary were annexed to that of All Saints.

The church of St. Gregory stood to the east of St. Peter's, in the street which still bears the name of St. Gregory. The date of its foundation is unknown, but it appears to have been handed over with the other churches of the town, to the priory of St. Andrew, by Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, at the close of the eleventh century. This gift was confirmed by Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln, [1209-1235]. In the old taxations there is no mention of St. Gregory's; but pursuant to a special commission* issued for that purpose in 1546, its value was assessed at 53s. 4d. The vicarage was ordained in 1235, John de St. Medard being the first incumbent.

The church of St. Gregory possessed at least one feature of great interest in the famous "Rood in the Wall." It has been lately supposed that this "rood" or stone crucifix was in a chapel in Bridge Street, but a careful search in the Patent Rolls has revealed the fact that

* The Commissioners were William Ermstede (vicar of All Saints), Laurence Manley, Laurence Washington, Richard Humphrey, and William Walger.

the Rood in the Wall was in the church of St. Gregory.

In the twelfth year of Edward IV. licence was granted by the king to William Lord of Hastings* and Ralph Hastings, Knts. to found a Gild in honour of "the Holy Rode in the wall in the parish church of St. Gregory the Pope in the town of Northampton." An English transcript of this royal licence is here appended :—

Licence is given to William and Ralph Hastings Knts., to found a Gild in honour of the "Holy Rode in the Wall" in St. Gregory's Church.

The Brethren may elect an Alderman and two Wardens to govern Gild.

And may meet annually clad in livery of the Gild.

They may acquire lands to value of £20 to support chaplains to celebrate

The King to all to whom, etc. Know ye that we have given licence to William, lord of Hastynges and Ralph Hastynges, Knights, that they or their heirs may found to the praise of the most holy cross of Christ a certain fraternity or gild in honour of the most holy Cross aforesaid commonly called "The Holy Rode in the wall," within the parish church of St. Gregory the Pope in the town of Northampton, and may receive such persons as should wish to be of the said fraternity or gild, as brothers and sisters of the same fraternity or gild; and that the brothers and sisters of the fraternity or gild so founded may elect from themselves every year one alderman and two wardens to govern the said fraternity or gild, and also to have the rule and custody of all the lands, tenements, rents, possessions, goods, and chattels which should be purchased or given to the same fraternity or gild, and may remove the alderman and wardens or any of them from time to time as should be expedient; and that they shall form a corporate body and have a common seal. We grant further that the same alderman and wardens and their successors may be persons able and capable, and by the name of the alderman and wardens of the fraternity or gild of the holy Cross of Christ commonly called "The Holy Rode in the Wall," may plead and be impleaded, etc.

That they may come together at oportune times for counsel and advice touching the good estate and rule of the fraternity, and that they may clothe themselves in one livery of gowns or hoods (*togarum seu capiciorum*) from year to year. That they may acquire lands in the town of Northampton or elsewhere which are not held of us in chief, to the value of £20 yearly within the said town or elsewhere, to maintain divers chaplains to celebrate divine service there for ever for the healthful estate of us and our most dear consort



* William, Lord of Hastings, was Lord Chamberlain to Edward IV. and high in favour with that monarch, whom he accompanied in his exile in 1470. Shortly after the death of Edward IV. Hastings was seized by the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.) as he sat at the council table, and instantly beheaded. His tragic end is vividly depicted in Shakespeare's *Richard III.*

masses for
King, Queen,
and the late
Duke of York.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, and our issue while we live and for our souls when we shall have migrated from this light, and for the soul of the most excellent Prince our father Richard, late Duke of York, and for the souls of our progenitors deceased, and also for the healthful estate of the aforesaid founders and others, brothers and sisters of the same fraternity, and for their souls when they shall have migrated from this light, and for the souls of all the faithful dead, and to do other works of piety there according to the ordinance of the aforesaid alderman and wardens and their successors on that behalf to be made, etc. In witness whereof, etc., the 10th day of November [A.D. 1472].*

There are various references to this celebrated Rood in fifteenth and sixteenth century documents.

In 1484, a royal warrant in favour of Sir John Perty was directed "to Walter Chaundeller, Bailiff of Cluer, to content and pay unto him (Sir John Perty) at Ester next comyng V. marcs, and at michelmas then next folowing othre V. marcs, and so from thensforth yerely during the Kings pleasure, the said Sr John to sing for the King in a chapel before the holy rode at Northampton.

Even the xxviiijth day of March a^o primo."†

In 1511, Henry VIII. was at Pipewell Abbey, Northants, and in the "Boke of Kyngs paymentis" under the date of August 3rd, occurs the following entry:—

Item for offring at the Rode of the Wall in
Northampton vjs. viijd.

In 1523, John Cockes, parson of St. Gregory's, left a house "to ye maisters of ye fraternite of ye holy roode in ye chirch of Saynt Gregory."

In 1526, Johanna Robinson bequeathed "to ye Rode in the Wall an aut^r clothe."

The will of Christopher Atkins, dated 1529, contains the following:—"I bequethe my soule to Almygty god and o^r blessed lady, to the blessyd Roode in the Wall and to all the holly cumpany of heven. . . ."

Other Northampton wills contain references to the High Altar of St. Gregory and to the Lady Chapel in the same church.

Joanna Robinson [1526] leaves her "best kerchiff to ye highe altare in Sent Gregory church to make a corporax."

* Patent Roll 12 Ed. IV. p. 2, m. 8.

† Grants and Warrants Temp. Rich. III. Harl. MSS. 433, p. 168.

In the following year Christian Butler bequeaths her body "to buried in the chapell of our lady in St. Gregory's church."

The Gild of the Holy Rood was dissolved with the other gilds of the town, early in the reign of Edward VI. and the Rood itself was doubtless destroyed. The offerings of the faithful at this shrine must have brought in a considerable revenue to the church of St. Gregory, and its destruction would be a heavy blow to the parish. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find that eight years later, the church was in a ruinous condition, and that its lead and bells were being sold by the Corporation.

In 1556, Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the request of the parishioners of All Saints and St. Gregory's, and with the consent of John, Bishop of Lincoln, in the vacancy of the see of Peterborough, annexed the parish of St. Gregory to All Saints, and granted the site and church of St. Gregory, then in ruins, for a grammar school† with the vicarage house as a dwelling for the master. The petitioners stated that the church had become dilapidated, and not worth repair; that divine service had not been performed therein for some time; that a townsman had given part of his substance for the use of a schoolmaster to teach the youth morals and learning; that a place was wanting in which the school might be kept; and that it would be of utility to the town if the church, with the site and materials, could be applied to the building of a school.

The Cardinal granted the petition, and assigned to the Mayor and parishioners all the structure then remaining, with tower, bells, and lead, together with the site, for the purpose of building the school, and also a house belonging to the church, of the yearly value of six shillings, as a dwelling place for the master. It was stipulated that the Mayor and parishioners should keep the school and the house in repair at their own expense, and should also provide a fit priest to be kept at their charge, to assist the Vicar of All Saints, to which parish of St. Gregory was to be henceforth annexed.

The grant sets forth that the church of St. Gregory was formerly appropriated to St. Andrew's Priory, and

† The Grammar School was founded by Thomas Chipsey, in 33 Henry VIII., but no school house had been provided.

that upon the dissolution of the religious houses, it had devolved to the crown and had been granted to him the said Cardinal.

In the first book of the Northampton Orders of Assembly are various entries relating to the "weight of leades, belles, and somes of mony come to the handes of Anthony Bryan, mayor, of and concerning the churche of saint gregoris." A certain Randall Smythe, barber, was the purchaser of the lead. On June 26th, 1556, he paid over to the Mayor £10, and a few days later £4, for two fodders* of lead at £7 per fodder. On July 9th, the removal of the lead began afresh, and there are thirteen entries of loads carted away by Smythe, varying from 3 cwt. to 1 cwt. 3 qrs. Here unfortunately, eight pages have been torn away, and the entries come abruptly to an end.

When the old school buildings were pulled down in 1840, a Norman arcade in good preservation, and various other parts of the former church of St. Gregory were revealed.

Vicars and Rectors of St. Gregory.

- I. *John de St. Medard* was instituted to the vicarage, January 25th, 1235-6, on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew, Northampton.† He was to receive the whole income of the living save four marks a year, which went to the monastery.
- II. *Magister Walter*. On his resignation he was succeeded by
- III. *William de Sutton*, Priest, April 12th, 1263. From this time, the incumbents of St Gregory are invariably spoken of as Rectors. William de Sutton resigned in 1265, and
- IV. *John de Bernexwelle* was instituted March 6th. On his death, a few days afterwards, the Bishop, by authority of the Pope, in defiance of the right of the Priory to

* Fodder is the name of a weight by which lead and other metals are sold. It varies in different parts of the country, being in Northumberland estimated at 21 cwts., and in other counties at 22, 23, or even more cwts.

† Vicaria in ecclesia S. Gregorii que est eorundem [*i.e.* monachorum] auctoritate concilii ordinata est sic. Consistit in omnibus obventionibus ejusdem ecclesie reddendo monachis supradictis quatuor Marcas annuatim per manum vicarii solvendas de eadem. --*Book of Ordination of Vicarages.* of Bishop Hugh Wells [1209—1235].

- present to the vacant benefice, "provided for" *
- V. *Richard de Heleden* (alias *Richard de Catesby*), clerk, March 26th. On June 8th, the Prior and Convent, in order to preserve their rights of patronage intact, presented the aforesaid Richard to the benefice. The Bishop accepted this arrangement and Richard de Heleden was duly ordained and instituted at the Ember-tide before Michaelmas. Fourteen years later he resigned, and
- VI. *Robert de Botelbrige*, Chaplain, was instituted March 15th, 1280. In July, 1287, he was appointed to the vicarage of Moulton, and resigned the church of St. Gregory, being succeeded by
- VII. *John de Horwoode*, Chaplain, July 21st, 1287. After holding the living for thirty-six years, he died, and was followed by
- VIII. *Roger de Russenden or Rushden*, Acolyte, April 7th, 1323. In 1342 he seems to have arranged an exchange of benefices with William Miloun of Lydgate, vicar of the church of South Welde, in the diocese of London. For this transaction leave had been obtained from the King (Patent Rolls, 16 Edward III.) who had seized the patronage of the living, owing to the war with France, St. Andrew's being an alien priory, dependent on the French abbey of La Charité. The arrangement, however, appears to have fallen through, for four years later Roger de Russenden exchanged the living of St. Gregory for that of Fotheringhay, with
- IX. *John de Abketilby*, December 13th, 1346. On his death, probably from the plague,
- X. *Henry de Scaldwell*, Priest, was instituted March 16th, 1350, on the presentation of the King. Henry de Scaldwell had previously been vicar of Passenham, 1333-42 and of Desborough, 1342-49. He died 1373, and the King presented
- XI. *John Tebaud*, June 18th, 1373. On his death, the King presented

* It was to prevent this that the famous *Statute of Provisors* was passed in 1351. It enacts that any provisors or persons accepting a provision from the Pope and disturbing the rights of a patron by the said provision, were to be imprisoned, and not to be released till they had paid a fine and had given security that they would not transgress again, or sue for redress in any foreign court.

- XII. *Thomas Kyrkby*, Clerk, August 1st, 1388. He resigned in 1393, and was afterwards rector of a moiety of Middleton and Collingtree, 1405-1421, and of Courteenhall 1423. He was succeeded at St. Gregory's by
- XIII. *John Thwenge*, Priest, June 3rd, 1393, on the presentation of the King. In the following year,
- XIV. *Simon Scoter* or *Scuter*, Priest, vicar of Westbury, with the King's permission, exchanged with John Thwenge, June 24th, 1394. On the death of Simon Scoter in 1423,
- XV. *Richard Roode*, Priest, was instituted, November 26th, 1423, on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew. On his death,
- XVI. *Robert Mayowe*, Priest, succeeded April 16th, 1439. He died, and was followed by
- XVII. *William Rathe*, LL.B., February 27th, 1456-7. On his death, he was succeeded by
- XVIII. *John Cokkes*, M.A., June 21st, 1480. In 1488 he obtained the living of Polebrooke, which he held in conjunction with that of St. Gregory till his death in 1523. A petition against him was presented to the Bishop of Lincoln by one John Armston, of Polebrooke, complaining that whereas he rented from him (John Cokkes) the parsonage of Polebrooke, and paid him his just dues, he had yet caused him to be imprisoned, and extorted from him several sums of money, for which he prayed he might account. The sequel to this does not appear. After an incumbency of forty-three years, John Cokkes died in 1523. By his will dated March 31st, 1523, he leaves his body to be buried in the church of St. Gregory, "If I happen to dy or deceasse in Northampton, and if in any other place then my body to be buried ther where it shall happyn me so to decesse or depart forth of y^{is} worlde." He leaves certain lands and tenements to the use of "Wylliam Atkynton, Clarke, Maister of the hospitalle of St. Johns in Northampton and of his cobretherne of y^e same house and of ther successours for ever, so that the said Maister and Cobretherne and ther successors for the tyme beyng shall yerly for ever of y^e profitts and rents of y^e said londs and tenements

kepe or cause to be kept, in ther owne persons, or by ther sufficient deputes at my yers day when it shall fall, yt is to say to syng *Placebo* and *Dirige* on ye evyn and Masse of Requiem on ye morow for the soules of me the said John Cockys, Thomas my father and Agnes my mother specially by name, and for the souls of all my benefactours and all Christen souls. And the prest for ye tyme beyng yt shall syng at ye farmery* aulter wthin the said hospittalle shall pray for me my father and mother by name as the custom hath bene to pray for other ther benefactours." His legacy to the Fraternity of the Rood in the Wall has been mentioned above. John Cokkes was succeeded by

XIX. *Richard Mabot*, S.T.B., August 17th, 1523, on the presentation of John, Bishop of Carlisle, who had obtained the right to present, *pro hac vice*, from the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew. Richard Mabot was educated at Cambridge where he proceeded to the degree of B.A. 1509. In the same year he migrated to Oxford, and was incorporated May 10th. Here he took the degree of M.A. May 16th, 1511. In December, 1521, he was presented to the vicarage of Little Billing, but whether he resigned on his appointment to St. Gregory's does not appear. After holding St. Gregory's for a year, he resigned and was followed by

XX. *John Evan* or *Yeven*, Chaplain, October 7th, 1524. In 1532 he retired on a life pension of £3 6s. 8d. per annum, and was succeeded by

XXI. *Henry Breton*, Chaplain, November 26th, 1532, on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew. He is the last Rector of St. Gregory's whose name is recorded.

The Church of St. Mary.

In St. Mary's Street, to the east of the castle, stood the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Like St. Gregory's, the church of St. Mary was granted to the Priory of St. Andrew by Simon de St. Liz, and confirmed to them by Bishop Hugh Wells.

* The altar of the infirmary chapel, as distinct from the altar of the general chapel of the hospital.

The vicarage was ordained in 1221, the first incumbent being a certain Henry, who was instituted in that year "to the church of St. Mary near the castle." This church is not mentioned in the old taxations, but in 1535 it was rated at 53s. 4d., out of which 3s. was deducted for synodals and procurations.

In 1318, the church of St. Mary, doubtless owing to its proximity to the castle, became for a short time a receptacle for the great seal of England. In that year, "the chancellor (John de Sendale, Bishop of Winchester) was with the king at Northampton. On July 20th, he left Northampton as royal envoy to the Earl of Lancaster, and delivered the great seal to William, the senior chancery clerk. The seal was then, according to custom, sealed up in a bag by William and his two fellow clerks, and deposited for safe keeping in the church of St. Mary. But the same day the king required the great seal for witnessing certain documents, so the three clerks proceeded to the church and there opened the bag and used it."*

In 1348 certain burgesses of Northampton founded a Gild in honour of St. Catharine, in the church of St. Mary. The following is a translation of the return made by the wardens with reference to this Gild in 1388:—

GILD OF ST. CATHARINE.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Thomas, by divine permission, Archbishop of York, Primate of England; and Chancellor of the most illustrious King of England,

John Glasier, and Philip William, wardens of a poor Fraternity of St. Catharine the Virgin, in the church of the Blessed Mary, in the town of Northampton, all reverence and honour due to so great pastor.

Recital of the writ.

By virtue of a certain writ of our lord the King to the Sheriff of Northampton on this behalf, directed and published in the town of Northampton, we declare to your Grace by these presents the manner, time, and nature of the foundation, government, and maintenance of the said Fraternity, as the aforesaid writ exacts and requires.

All burgesses have the right of leaving lands, etc.

To whomsoever they will, regulars or seculars.

The town of Northampton is an ancient royal borough, and has, beyond the memory of man, enjoyed this privilege, viz., that all burgesses of the same town may by will, freely and without hindrance, leave lands, tenements, dues, and services which they have acquired, to whatever persons they wish, both regulars or seculars, and also to churches, altars, and lights and elsewhere, to find chaplains,

* Northampton Borough Records. Vol. ii., p. 422.

The Gild was founded in 1348.

A fit chaplain to celebrate Mass.

For the King, Queen, nobles, and benefactors of Gild.

On Sundays and Festivals to assist the Rector.

A second chaplain appointed.

Vespers on the Vigil and Mattins, Canonical Hours and High Mass on the Feast of St. Catharine, with music.

The brethren come to Mass. Clad in one livery. And pray for benefactors and remain till Mass is over.

The Gild Feast. Placebo, Dirige and Mass of Requiem for souls of departed.

After Mass of Requiem the brethren meet to audit accounts and elect new wardens.

Burial rites. Each brother shall cause a Mass of Requiem to be said for the deceased.

They have no lands or charters.

or to celebrate any other divine service for their souls or the souls of their ancestors; and this privilege is still kept up and maintained. We further inform your Grace that in the 21st year of the reign of King Edward, grandfather of the present king, by the devotion of certain burgesses of Northampton, to the praise and honour of Almighty God, the glorious Virgin Mary, all the Saints, and the blessed Catharine, Virgin and Martyr, it was first ordained that the said burgesses, of their devotions and contributions, should have a fit chaplain to celebrate the divine offices continually in the church aforesaid, praying especially for the safety, peace, and tranquillity of our lord the King and Queen of England, the nobles and magnates of the same, and all their benefactors, and contributors. And that the said chaplain on all Lord's Days and festivals should be present in person at High Mass and all the Canonical hours to assist the parson of the church aforesaid because of the poverty of the same, and for the increase of divine service and devotion. And afterwards, as the devotion of the faithful increased, certain other burgesses of the same town made themselves coadjutors and voluntary contributaries to the devotion thus begun, promising as far as in them lay, to sustain the same devotion. And in like manner they provided for another chaplain to celebrate daily in the same church for the healthful estate, peace, and tranquillity aforesaid. And so by the chaplains aforesaid, divine service in honour of St. Catharine is performed and increased in the aforesaid church, where formerly, owing to the poverty of the parson, it was very often omitted. And so by this union of the Fraternity of St. Catharine was first founded. Moreover, the same burgesses, of their devotion ordained that Vespers on the Vigil and Mattins, Canonical Hours, and High Mass should be said, done, and celebrated annually at the feast of St. Catharine the Virgin in the church aforesaid, with music and great pomp of chaplains and clerks, to the praise and honour of God and of the same virgin and martyr, St. Catharine. To hear which Mass and Canonical Hours, the brethren of the "devotion" aforesaid out of reverence for that feast, come together clad in one livery, devoutly offering their prayers and intercessions for the safe state and benefactors aforesaid, and after the offertory of the Mass, making their oblations and remaining there till High Mass for that day is fully ended. Moreover they are accustomed on the same day to feast together, each at his own expense. They come together also on the same day for Vespers, and when Vespers are over, *Placebo* is sung with music, and *Dirige* and a Mass of Requiem on the morrow, for the souls of their benefactors and the faithful departed, the said brethren being present at the service. When the Mass of Requiem is over on the morrow, all the brethren come together to hear the accounts of the wardens of the Fraternity, and to choose two new ones for the ensuing year. On the death of a brother, the body of the deceased is brought to the grave by the remaining brethren, as is fitting, and each of them at his own expense, causes a Mass of Requiem to be done on the same day for the soul of the departed.

And in no other way are the oaths, acquittances, banquets, meetings, assemblies in the Gild aforesaid, nor have they any privileges, rights, uses, or customs beyond the form afore-

said, nor have they any lands, tenements, rents, or services, either in Mortmain or out of Mortmain, nor have they any charters from our lord the King or his progenitors. But we declare that Richard Sadeler, Robert Spicer, and others were seized in fee simple of tenements and rents in Northampton, worth annually £7 13s. 4d. and sometimes less for lack of tenants. And the aforesaid Richard Sadeler, Robert Spicer, and others have given and granted to Philip Porter, John Belzetter, William Whelewright, John Aubray, and others, all the tenements and rents aforesaid with the appurtenances, to have and to hold, by them, their heirs and assigns, for ever of the capital lord of the fee by the accustomed service with this intention, viz., to dispose the annual rents and profits for the maintenance of the aforesaid service and devotion.

But Richard Sadler and Robert Spicer held lands, etc. worth £7 13s. 4d.

And conveyed them to trustees for use of the Gild.

If Gild dies out the land may be sold.

And the proceeds devoted to religious objects.

The Gild has no goods save timber worth 10s. for repairs.

And if the said Fraternity should come to an end, or the service and devotion aforesaid in any way cease, it shall then be lawful for the aforesaid feoffees, their heirs and assignees, to give, sell, leave, or assign to whomsoever they please, all the tenements and rents aforesaid with their appurtenances, for the health of their souls and for the souls of the original donors, and their ancestors, and all the faithful departed. No other goods or chattels remain in our hands, nor in the hands of any others for the use of the said Fraternity, save timber of the value of ten shillings, newly bought for the repair of the aforesaid tenements.

And this is the manner of the foundation, government, rule, and continuation of the aforesaid Fraternity.

Given at Northampton under our seals, the eighteenth day of January, in the twelfth year of King Richard II.

It seems probable that the Gild had in some way infringed the Mortmain act, for in 1394 a royal licence was granted to *found* a Gild of St. Catharine, though as a matter of fact the Gild had already existed for forty-six years. The Crown lawyers were ever ready to find such flaws, for there were considerable fees to various officials for founding or re-founding a Gild.

The licence* runs as follows:—

Licence is granted to John Trigg, Thomas Sprigy, Henry Caysho, William Shenley, Philip Derlyng, and other burgesses of the town of Northampton, to found a certain Fraternity and Gild in honour of God and St. Catherine the Virgin; and that they may be able to choose year by year from themselves or other brethren and sisters of the Fraternity, two wardens, styled the "Wardens of the Fraternity and Gild of St. Catharine in the church of the Blessed Mary of Northampton."

Windsor, 25th July.

On the suppression of the Gilds in 2 Ed. VI., the revenues of this Gild in lands and tenements were valued at £11 8s. 6d., out of which was deducted 20s.

* Patent Rolls, 16 Ric. II., 2nd part, m. 31.

10d. in rents resolute, and £5 6s. 8d. to Alexander Burton, the stipendiary chaplain.

Pre-Reformation wills furnish us with a few details as to the chapels and lights in the church.

Chapel of St. Catharine.

Sir William Pulvertofte [1539] "Preste of the fraternite of Sentt Katryne w^{thin} the churche of Sentt Mary's of Northampton" leaves his body "to beryd in the chapelle of Seyntt Katrine afore the Image w^{thin} the churche of Seyntt Mary's." He leaves various books to St. Catharine.

In the same year, Henry Robyns bequeathed "to the Fraternyte of Sent Kateryne for my grave w^{thin} the chapell iij^s."

Our Lady Light.

Wolston Bull [1518] and Henry Worrall [1521] left legacies "to our lady lygt."

The Trinity Light.

Thomas Pemberton [1539] bequeathed "to the Trynytye lyght iiij^d."

St. John Baptist Light.

In 1521 sixpence was left by Henry Worrall "to Seynt John Baptyst lygt."

The Sepulchre Light.

Thomas Pemberton, by his will dated 1539, left four pence to the Sepulchre light.

The Rood.

Wolston Bull [1518] and Thomas Pemberton [1539] each left a small legacy [fourpence] to the Rood loft.

After the changes brought about by the Reformation, the church of St. Mary appears to have fallen into dis-

repair and disuse, and in 1584 the Corporation attempted to induce the bishop to appropriate the small income of the church as a stipend for the usher or second master of the grammar school. At an Assembly held in July of that year, it was agreed that:—

There shalbe a letter directed to the L. Bishshope of Peterborowe for the procureinge and getteinge of the vicaridge of S^t maries Towards the mayntayneinge and Kepeing of one ussher for the Teacheinge of Chyldren at the Freeskoole under M^r Saundeurson, but yff the same vicareidge cannot be obteyned at the Bysshopes handes, then yt ys agreed that M^r Saunderson shall provyde a sufficient usher and he to have Twentie Shillinges a yere paid hym owte of the chamber of the Towne Towards his mayntenaunce."

The attempt was unsuccessful, and five years later the church of St. Mary, together with its small endowment, was annexed to that of All Saints.

The transaction is recorded in the register of Archbishop Whitgift, now in Lambeth Palace Library. The income of the living in oblations, rent, etc. in 1589 amounted to 50s. 4d. and is described as being too small to support a rector.

The church had long been in a dilapidated condition (*ruinosa et delapidata et collapsa*) and no services had been held there for a considerable period, and there was no suitable house for the rector. The living had been for a long time vacant, and the cure of souls unsupplied. The inhabitants are described as few in number (*pauci et infrequentes*) and quite capable of attending the church of All Saints, no part of the parish of St. Mary being more than a quarter of a mile from All Saints church. The parishioners of All Saints and St. Gregory had no objection to the arrangement, to which the Queen (patron both of All Saints and St. Mary's) and Philip Favour, rector (*sic!*) of All Saints, had given their consent.

The union of St. Mary's with All Saints was accordingly effected February 20th, 1589-90.

Vicars and Rectors of St. Mary.

- I. *Henry* was instituted to the church of St. Mary near the castle on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew, in the year 1221.
- II. *William de Lindeseya*, Deacon, 1233. In the record of his institution it is stated that he was to enjoy all the emoluments of the living save 20s. per annum,

which the monks had long been in the habit of receiving therefrom, and an additional 20s. granted to the monastery by favour of the Apostolic See.

- III. *John*. On his death,
- IV. *Walter de Grendon*, Sub-deacon, succeeded Dec. 1264. Ten years later he resigned the living on being presented to the vicarage of Wollaston by the Abbess of De-la-pre. From this time the incumbents of St. Mary's are invariably called rectors. He was followed by
- V. *Thomas de Oxendon*, Sub-deacon, June 8th, 1274. On his death,
- VI. *Henry Le Meger*, Sub-deacon, was instituted September 12th, 1280, but on his appointment to the vicarage of Frodingham in the following year, he resigned the living of St. Mary's. He was followed by
- VII. *Hubert*, Chaplain, December 24th, 1281. He died in 1300, and
- VIII. *Ralph de Northampton* (alias *Ralph le Mercer*), chaplain, was appointed June 7th, 1300. He held the living for thirty-one years, and resigned in 1331. He was succeeded by
- IX. *Geoffrey Warner de Duston*, Priest, January 10th, 1331-2. On his death, probably from the plague,
- X. *Nicholas de Boudon*, Priest, was instituted (on the presentation of the King) November 1st, 1349.
- XI. *Philip de Daventre*, Priest, succeeded July 14th, 1360, on the death of Nicholas de Boudon. After an incumbency of forty years, he resigned, and was followed by
- XII. *Richard de Napton*, Priest, April 7th, 1400. He was doubtless a relative of his namesake Richard Napton, Prior of St. Andrews, Northampton, (1399-1452) by whom he was presented to the living of Little Billing (January, 1400-1) which he held till his appointment to the neighbouring vicarage of Weston Favell, November 23rd, 1404. He resigned the living of St. Mary in 1401, and was succeeded by
- XIII. *Robert Broun*, Chaplain, April 20th, 1401. On his death,

- XIV. *Thomas Overton*, Acolyte, October 21st, 1407, was presented by the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew. He died in 1415, and
- XV. *John Abbey*, Priest, December 21st, 1415, succeeded. He was vicar of Twywell 1416-23, and of Finedon 1423-49.
- XVI. **William Wharing* or *Waring* was probably instituted to St. Mary's in the year 1416. In the same year he had been presented to the rectory of the first portion of Isham, but resigned on his appointment to St. Mary's. He died in 1424, and was followed by
- XVII. **Richard Roger*, Chaplain, February 8th, 1424-5. After an incumbency of only a few months, he resigned, and was succeeded by
- XVIII. **Reginald Newton*, Chaplain, August 20th, 1425. He resigned in 1438, and was appointed to the rectory of Stowe, but in the following year he exchanged benefices with John Parmenter, rector of Blisworth. He was rector of Blisworth 1439-1446; rector of Dingley 1443-1448; and rector of Aston-le-Walls 1466-1475.
- XIX. *John Ereman* or *Germanyn*, Priest, May 20th, 1439.
- XX. *John Kyrkebe* or *Kirby*, Priest, December 4th, 1439.
- XXI. *Richard Praty*. On his death,
- XXII. *John Ilam*, LL.B., followed, February 5th, 1455-6. He was vicar of St. Giles' Northampton 1471-78.
- XXIII. *Richard Marys*. He resigned and was succeeded by
- XXIV. *Robert Garton*, LL.B., Priest, September 19th, 1472. He was rector of Creaton 1469-82. He resigned the rectory of St. Mary, and
- XXV. *Roger Clebery*, Priest, October 1st, 1477, was appointed.
- XXVI. *Thomas Goodlok*, M.A. He resigned, and
- XXVII. *Edmund Campyon*, LL.B., was instituted September 28th, 1482. He resigned in 1486 and
- XXVIII. *John Eliot*, April 24th, 1486, succeeded him. On the death of John Eliot,
- XXIX. *Robert Ardern*, M.A., January 5th, 1492-3, was

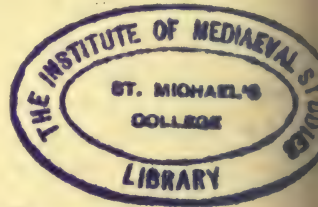
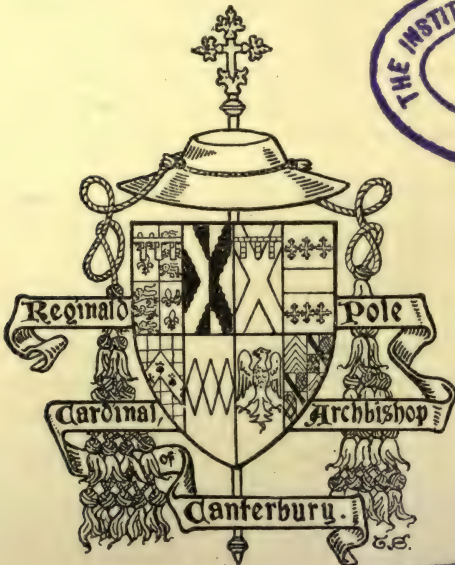
* *Archiepiscopal Register (sede vacante)* in Lambeth Palace Library.

appointed. Two years later he resigned, and

XXX. *John Grene*, Canon of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Dale, Derbyshire, of the Præmonstratensian order, was presented to the living, October 27th, 1494. It is expressly stated that he had obtained the special permission of his order to hold this preferment. On his death,

XXXI. *John Fysche*, Chaplain, was appointed September 5th, 1520. The will of a certain John Fyshe, clerk, who was very possibly identical with this rector of St. Mary's, is in the Northampton Probate Office. He is described as "one of the curattes of the paryshe of Hygham Ferres." He leaves his body to be buried "in the church yarde of or blessed lady in Hygham above namyd. Itm I gyve and bequethe unto ye pore people inhabited in hygham xiijs. iiiij^d. the same to be devyded unto them that have most nede." The will is dated August 19th, 1555, and was proved in the following January.

XXXII. *William Woodward* is mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as rector in 1535.





CHAPTER IX.

THE REFORMATION CHANGES AND THE PURITANS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THIS is not the place for a dissertation on the value and results of the reforms effected by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. with regard to the church of England at large. All will probably agree that a reformation in some shape or form was urgently needed in the Church. But the methods employed by these Kings or their Ministers to effect this are more open to dispute, and will naturally be viewed differently by men of different schools of thought. In this chapter, therefore, it is proposed simply to deal with facts, and to point out as far as possible in what ways the Reformation affected the church of All Saints.

The first change to chronicle is the suppression (in 1538) of the Priory of St. Andrew, which for four centuries and a half had enjoyed the patronage of the vicarage of All Saints. This was now vested in the Crown, and, until the advowson was sold early in the seventeenth century, all succeeding incumbents were

Crown nominees.

Close upon the dissolution of the Priory came the suppression of the seven Gilds of All Saints, and the College of the same name. The result of this iniquitous act of spoliation, which was effected in 1549, was to deprive the parish of All Saints of a large staff of assistant clergy (sixteen or more) who had hitherto been supported by the Gilds, but for whose maintenance funds were no longer forthcoming.

With regard to ritual, the first alterations were made in 1536, when by an injunction of Vicar-General Cromwell the superstitious use of images was prohibited and the placing of lights before pictures or images was declared illegal. An exception was, however, made in the case of the Rood and Sepulchre lights and the light before the Sacrament. In 1547 the use of the Sepulchre and Rood lights was ordered to be discontinued, the two lights on the high altar before the Sacrament being alone permitted "for the significance that Christ is the very true light of the world." Two years later an Act was passed for the demolition of all "images of stone, tymbre, alleblaster or earthe, graven, carved, or paynted." This would involve the pulling down and destroying of the large figure of the Saviour (with the attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John) which stood on the Rood-loft, and the destruction of the figures or representations of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady, Our Lady of Grace, Our Lady of Pity, and doubtless many others.

In the same year the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued for the first time. It was in English and was in the main compiled from the old Latin service books—the *Breviary*, the *Missal*, and the *Manual*.

The last change to chronicle was the substitution (in 1550) of a wooden table for the ancient stone altar of All Saints. It will be seen a little later that, not content with this, the more extreme members of the reforming party brought the holy table down from its accustomed position and placed it in the body of the church.

The Marian Reaction.

On the death of Edward VI. and the accession of his sister Mary, who was strongly opposed to the Reform

movement, a strong reaction set in, as was only to be expected, and attempts were made to revert to the old order of things. In the first two years of her reign, the Queen met with considerable success, but when in an evil moment she adopted measures of persecution, the fate of her policy was sealed. Northampton can boast of at least one martyr for conscience sake, in the person of John Kurde, who, after being tried in the church of All Saints, was condemned to be burnt to death. Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments** gives the following account of him :—

JOHN KURDE, MARTYR.

His name was John Kurde, a shoemaker, late of the parish of Syresham, in Northamptonshire, who was imprisoned in Northampton Castle for denying the popish transubstantiation, for the which cause William Binsley, Bachelor of Law, and Chancellor unto the Bishop of Peterborough, and now Archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce sentence of death against the said Kurde, in the church of All Saints, in Northampton, in August, anno 1557. And in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Tresham, Sheriff then of the shire, he was led by his officer without the North Gate of Northampton and in the stone pits was burnt. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, † vicar of St. Giles in Northampton, did declare unto him that if he would recant, he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was that he had his pardon by Jesus Christ.

The Prophecyings.

On the accession of Elizabeth, it was hoped by the more advanced reformers that "the ecclesiastical pendulum would swing back from the extreme in one direction which it had reached under Mary, to the extreme in another, which it had reached under Edward VI. But in this they were woefully mistaken." ‡ The Privy Council determined to hold a middle course between the extreme Romanists on the one hand and the extreme Puritans on the other, and for the first ten years of the Queen's reign this policy succeeded fairly

* Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (Townshend's edition) 1849. Vol. viii., pp. 423—4.

† John Rote was instituted to the vicarage of St. Giles in 1538. He must afterwards have changed his views, for he continued to hold the living till 1576, within a few months of his death. The St. Giles' register thus records his burial:—"John Rote, clerke and vicar of St. gyles was buried the xxi. day (of November) 1576."

‡ *The Church in England*, by Canon J. H. Overton, vol. i., p. 431.

well. The *Book of Common Prayer* as revised by a committee of bishops and deans, and as accepted by Parliament without any discussion, was received at the outset with general acquiescence by the great majority of the people, whilst only 187 out of 9,400 clergy declined to use it. There was no acceptance in its pages of the alien creeds of the refugees or returned exiles.

But in 1568 rumours of intended risings of the Roman Catholics in the north, to be aided by the arms of Spain, reached the Government. Rome was growing more and more dissatisfied with the conformity of many of the English Catholics. These rumours provoked the Puritans to put forth their best endeavours to counteract these tendencies, and the fierce but short-lived northern insurrection of 1569, led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, still further promoted the reaction. The Puritan party from that date began to gain the ascendancy in several parts of England, and nowhere were they more powerful than in the town and county of Northampton. It has been stated that it was at the great church of All Saints, Northampton that the famous Puritan exercises known as "Prophesyings" were originated, and as the rules drawn up at Northampton in 1571 for the regulation of these "Prophesyings" are the earliest, so far as is known, this statement is probably correct. These rules are found in a curious MS.* in the Public Record Office relating to the church customs of Northampton in the reign of Elizabeth. It is an exceedingly interesting document as showing the stern religious discipline to which a section of our forefathers were compelled to submit in the days of "Good Queen Bess." It is here reproduced verbatim :—

The orders and dealings in the Church of Northampton established and sett up, by the consent of the Bysshop of Peterborough the maior and bretherne of the Towne there and others the Queenes Maties Justices of peace within the saide Countie and Towne taken and founde the vth daie of June 1571, Annoque xiiij Regine Elizabeth.

(1.) The singinge and playeinge of Organes before tyme accustomed in the Quier is putt downe and the comen prayer theare accustomed to be said is brought downe into the bodie of the church amongst the people before whome the same ys used accordinge to the Queene's booke with singinge psalms before and after the Sermond.

(2.) There is in the chefe church every tewsdaye and thursdaie from ix of the clock untill x in the mornynge Redd a lecture of the scriptures

* Domestic State Papers, (Elizabeth) Vol. lxxviii.

begynnyng with the confession in the booke of Comen prayer and endinge with prayer, and confession of the faith, etc.

(3.) There is in the same church every sondaye and holydaie after mornynge prair A Sermond the people singinge the psalmes before and after.

(4.) That service be ended in everie parishe church by ix of the clock in the mornynge every sondaye and holydaie to thende the people maye resort to the sermon to the same church and that every mynister gyve warnynge to the parishioners in tyme of comen prayer to repaire to the sermon theare, excepte they have a sermon in their owne parishe Church.

(5.) That after praier don, in the tyme of Sermon or Catechisme none sitt in the streetes or walk up and downe abroad or otherwy occupie themselves vaynely, uppon such penaltie as shalbe appointed.

(6.) That youth at thende of eveninge prayer every sondaie and holydaie before all the elder people are examyned in A porcon of Calvyns Catechisme which by the reader is expounded unto them and holdeth an hower.

(7.) There is a general Comunion every quarter in every parish church with a sermon whiche is by the mynister at Comen praier warned fower severall sondaies before every Comunion, with exhortacon to the people to prepare for that daie.

(8.) One fourthnighte before eche Comunion, the mynister with the Churchwardens maketh his Circuit from howse to howse to take the names of the Comunycantes and to examyne the state of their lyses, amonge whom yf any discorde be founde the parties are brought before the Maior and his bretherne being assisted with the preacher and other gentillmen before whome there ys reconsyement made, or ells Correccion and puttinge the partie from the Comunion which will not dwell in Charitie.

(9.) And ymediatly after the comunyon the mynister &c. retorneth to every howse to understand whoe have not received the comunion accordinge to comon ordre taken and certyfieth it to the Maior &c. who wth the mynister examyneth the matter and useth meanes of persuasion to induce them to their duties.

(10.) Every comunyon daie eche parisshe hath ij comunyons thone for servautes and officers to beginne at v of the clocke in the mornynge wth a sermonde of an hower, and to ende at viij. The other for m^{rs} and dames etc, to begynne at ix the same daie wth a like sermonde and to ende at xii at the uttermoste.

(11.) The manner of this comunion, is besides the sermonde accordinge to the order of the Queenes book saving the people, beinge in their confession upon their knees for the dispache of manye doo orderly aryse from their pews, and so passe to the Comunion table, where they receive the sacram^t and from thence in lyke order to their place, haveinge all this tyme a mynister in the pulpitt readinge unto them comfortable scriptures of the passion or other lyke pertaynyng to the matter in hande.

(12.) There is on every other Satterdaie, and nowe every Satterdaie from ix to xj of the clocke in the mornynge, an exercise of the mynisters bothe of Towne and cuntrye about the interpretacon of scriptures, the mynisters speakinge one after another, doth handell some texte, and the same openly amonge the people; that doon, the mynisters doth wthdrawe themselves into a pryve place, theare to confere amonge themselves as well touchinge doctrine as good lieff, maners or others orders mete for them.

(13.) There is also a wekelye assembly every thursdaie, after the lecture by the maior and his bretherne, assisted wth the preacher, mynister, or other gentlemen, appointed to them by the Bisshope for the correction of discorde made in the towne, as for notorious blasphemy, whoredome, drunkenes, raylinge against religyon, or the preachers thereof, skowldes,

rybaults, and suche lyke, w^{ch} faults are eche Thursdave presented unto them in writinge by certein sworne men, appointed for that cervice in each parisshe, so the bisshoppes authoritie and the mayors joyned together being assisted wth certein other gentillmen in comysion of peace, yll lyeff is corrected, Godds gloary sett fourthe, and the people brought in good obedience.

(14.) The comunyon table standeth in the bodey of the churche, accordinge to the book at the over ende of the midle Ile, havinge three mynisters, one in the mydle to delyver the bread, the other ij at eche ende for the cupp. The mynisters often tymes doo call on the people to Remember the poore w^{ch} is there plentyfully docn, and thus the comunyon beinge ended, the people doo singe a psalme.

(15.) The excessyve ringinge of bells at forbidden tymes by Injunctions (whereby the people grewe in disorder to the slaughter of some, and the unquyetinge of others geven to here sermons) is inhibited, allowinge notwthstandinge suche orderly ringinge as may serve to the callinge of the people to churche and gevinge warnynge of the passinge and buriall of eny persons.

(16.) The carryenge of the bell before courses [corpses] in the streetes, and biddinge prayers for the ded (w^{ch} was there used till wthin thes two yeres) is restrayned.

(17.) There is hereafter to take place ordered that all mynisters of the shyer once every quarter of the yere, upon one monethes warnynge gyven repayer to the saide towne, and theare, after a sermonde in the churche herde, to wthdrawe themselves into a place appoynted wthin the sayde churche, and there pryvately to conferre amongst themselves of their manners and lyves, amongst whome yf any be founde in faulte for the fyrst tyme exhortacon is made to hym amongst all the bretherne to amend, and so lykewyse the seconde, the thirde tyme by complaynt from all the bretherne, he is comytte unto the byshopp for his correccion.

The rules relating to the "Propheysings" or "Exercises" of the ministers were as follows:—

The order of the exercise of the mynisters wth a Confession of the Fayth.

(1.) Everie one at his first allowance to be of this exercise, shall by subscripcion of his owne hande declare his consent in Christes true religion wth his bretherne and submit himself to the discipline and orders of the same.

(2.) The names of every man that shall speake in this exercise shalbee written in a table for it shalbee unlawfull for any man to speake in this exercise untill he be admytted to the same, and his name by his owne consent registred in the said table. Neither shall it be Lawful for any man to occupie the roome of the seconde speaker, except he have spoken in the first place, unlesse he be desired by the moderators.

(3.) The first speaker begynnyng and endinge wth praier, ought to explain the text that he readeth, then he may confute any false or untrew expositions yf he knowe that the place hath been abused by any synister interpretacons, then may he geve the comforte to his awdiens, as the place mynistreth just occasion, but he shall not digresse, dilate, nor amplifie that place of scripture wheareof he entreateth to eny comen place further then the meanyng of the saide sentence.

(4.) Whatsoever is left by the first speaker either in explaynyng the text, either in confuting, etc., he or thae that speake afterwarde have libertie to touche so as they observe the order prescribed to the first speaker, and that wthout repeatinge the self same thinges w^{ch} have been

spoken before, or impugne the same, except any have spoken contrary to the scriptures.

(5.) The exercise shall begynne ymediately after nyne of the clock, and not excede the space of two houres, the first speaker shall fully fynnishe whatsoever he hath to saye w^{thin} the space of three quarters of one hower. The seconde and thirde shall not excede (eche one of them) one quarter of an hower, one of the moderators shall allwaies make the conclusion.

(6.) After the exercise is ended the president for the tyme beinge shall call the learned bretherne unto him and shall aske their judgements concernynge the exposicon of the texte of scripture then expounded, and yf any matter be then untouched it shalbee there declared. Also yf any of the speakers in this exercise be informed and convinced of any grevous cryme, he shalbe there and then be reprehended.

(7.) At this consultacon it shalbe Lawfull for any of the bretherne of this exercise to expound their dowbtes or questions justly collected owte of the place of the scripture that daie expounded and signify the same unto the president for the tyme beinge and the other bretherne, and delyver the same in writinge unto the first speaker, and order shalbe taken by comen consent, for the satisfyng of the saide questions or doubttes against the next exercise. No speaker shall move publikely any question extempore, but w^{ch} he shall satisfie himself presently. And this consultacon shall be ended wth some short exhortacon to move eche one to goe forwardes in his office, to apply his studie, and to increase his godlynes of manners and newnes of lyfe.

(8.) When this exercise is fynished the next speaker shalbe appointed and named publikely and the text w^{ch} he shall expounde shalbe red.

(9.) When the last man whose name is written in the table hath kepte his turne in this exercise, then the first man written shalbe required to keepe the next exercise, yf that man be absent so as he cannot keepe that daye and tyme, the next written in the table shalbe required to satisfie the place of the other when his turne ys, so as the exercise decaye not for any one mans absence.

(10.) Yf any man take uppon hym to breake these orders and rules or seme to bee contentious, lett the president of the exercise presently commaunde hym in the name of the eternall God, to silence. And after the exercise lett that unadvised person be admonysshed before the bretherne theare gathered for the saide exercise that he and others by his ensample maye learne modestie theareafter.

THE CONFSSION.

Wee whose names are hereunder written (as well to declare unto the worlde accordinge to the comaundem^t of the Lorde) the confession of that faith w^{ch} in or consciences wee holde as also to cutt of all occasions of querelinge and sclaunderous reportes of o^r dissentinge amonge o^rselves in matters of faith and religion to the woundinge and hurte of the symple do shewe o^r Judgementes and consente in some as followeth beinge redye further and more particularly to explaine in the same to the satisfieinge of o^r bretherne when and as occasion shalbe thereunto offered.

First we beleve and holde that the worde of God written in the canonical scriptures of the olde and newe testament (which books contayne in them sownde, perfect and sufficient doctrine, as well for the trade of all mens lyves, as also for their fayth) are and ought to be open to be red and knowen of all sortes of men both learned and unlerned. And wee esteeme this written woorde as the infallible truthe of God, full of majestie and the authoritie thereof farre to excede all authoritie not of the Pope of Rome onelye, who is verry Antichrist and therefore to be detested of all Christians, but of the church also of councells, fathers, or other whosoeuer either men or aungells.

Then wee condemme (as a tyranous yoke wherewth poore souls have bene oppressed) whatsover men have sett upp of their owne invencions to make arelis of or faith, or to binde mans conscience to their Lawes and statutes, in sum all those manners and fasshions to sever God whiche men have brought in wthout the authoritie of the worde for the warrante thereof comended either by custome by the tyle of unwritten verities, traditions, or other name whatsoeuer of w^{ch} sorte are the doctrine of the supremacie of the sea of Roome, purgatory, the masse, transubstantiation, the coporall presence of Christes bodie in the sacrament, adoration thereof, manes merites, freewill, justificacon by woorkes, prayenge in an unknown tongue to saintes departed for the deade upon beades, extolling of Images, pardons, pilgrimages, auricular confession, takinge from the laie people the cupp in the admynstracion of the sacrament, prohibition of mariage, distinction of meates, apparrell and daies. Breeflye all the ceremonies and whole order of papistrie, which they call the hierarchie ended. A dyvelishe confusion established as it were in despite of God, to the moekerye, and reproche of all christian religion. Those (I saye) with suche lyke, wee abjure, renounce, and utterlye condemne.

And we content orselves wth the simplicitie of this pure woorde of God, and doctrine thereof (a summall [*sic*] abridgement of the w^{ch} wee acknowledge to be contained in that confession of faith used of all christians w^{ch} is comenlye called the creede of the Apostells) holding fast (as thapostle warneth) that faithful woord w^{ch} serveth to doctrine and instruccon. And that both to edifie or owne consciences wth all unto salvacon in Christ Jhesus as the alone foundacion whereon Christes true church is built, he himself beinge the chief corner stone (as the same apostell witnesseth in another place) and also to exhorte other wth the same sownde and wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers. Fynallie to trie and examine and also to judge thereby as by a certeyn rule, and perfect touchstone all other doctrines whatsoeuer. And therefore to this woorde of God wee humblye submitte orselves and all or doings, willinge and readie to be judged reformed, or further instructed therebye in all pointes of religion.

This interesting document affords another proof—if proof were needed—of the strong Calvinistic influences at work in the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth. But this (as has been pointed out by a recent writer)* is not to be wondered at when we consider the anomalous position of the theological student of those days. "He would have found no text book from which to work. The text books of the middle ages—St. Thomas, Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus and their brethren—had long ago been committed to the flames. English theology as we now know it in Hooker, and Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor, was not yet written. What wonder was it, when all was vague and indeterminate, when learning was depressed and libraries destroyed, that men turned eagerly to the one Protestant treatise which contained a logical and simple system of theology, and that the Institutes of Calvin became the

* Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*, p. 330.

acknowledged text book of the English Universities, the mould in which the religious opinions of the English clergy for half a century were formed."

The system of "Propheysings" inaugurated at Northampton, was eagerly adopted in the dioceses of London and Norwich, and by 1573 had extended to parts of the dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely. In themselves these devotional meetings were harmless and probably beneficial to the spiritual life of the clergy, and as such they were warmly supported by several of the Puritanical bishops. But it is easy to understand that in troublous times such as those through which England was then passing, these gatherings might easily be used as engines of opposition to the Government. Accordingly the Queen's Council (always suspicious of all private meetings, and especially such as were likely to stir up inconvenient religious enthusiasm) determined to put them down. Archbishop Grindal, who was an earnest supporter of the movement, wrote to remonstrate, but in vain. He was ordered to suppress the "Propheysings," and on his refusal he was suspended from his office for six months and his see sequestrated*

On May 7th, 1577, the Queen, on the advice of her Privy Council, sent a letter to each of the bishops, ordering them under pain of her displeasure to carry out her wishes forthwith. The letter ran as follows:—

The Queen to the Bishops throughout England, for suppressing the exercise called Propheying and any other Rites and Ceremonies but what are prescribed by the Laws.

Right Reverend Father in God, We grete you well. We hear to our great Grief, that in sundry Parts of our Realm, there are no small Numbers of Persons presuming to be Teachers and Preachers of the Church (though neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet fit for the same) which contrary to Our Laws established for the Public Divine Service of Almighty God, and the Administration of his Holy Sacraments within this Church of England, do daily devise, imagine, propound, and put in Execution sundry new Rites and Forms in the church, as well by their unordinate, Preaching, Readings and Ministring the Sacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of Assemblies and Great Number of Our People out of their ordinary Parishes and from Places far distant (and that also some of Our Subjects of good Calling, though therein not well advised) to be Hearers of their Disputations and new devised Opinions upon Points of Divinity far unmeet for vulgar People: Which Manner of Innovation, they in some Places term *Propheysings* and in some other places *Exercises*. By which manner of

* Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*, p. 340. Overton's *History of the Church*, vol. i., pp. 470-2.

Assemblies great Numbers of Our People, especially the vulgar Sort, meet to be otherwise occupied with honest Labour, for their Living, are brought to Idleness, and seduced; and in manner Schismatically divided among themselves into variety of dangerous Opinions, not only in Towns and Parishes, but even in some Families, and manifestly thereby encouraged to the Violation of Our Laws, and to the Breach of Common Order and finally to the Offence of all Our quiet Subjects, that desire to live and serve God according to the uniform Orders established in the Church: Whereof the Sequel cannot be but over-dangerous to be suffered.

Wherefore considering, it should be the Duty of the Bishops, being the principal ordinary Officers in the Church of God, as you are one, to see these Disorders (against the Honour of God and Quietness of the Church) reformed; and that we see that by the Encrease of these, through Sufferance, great Danger may ensue, even to the Decay of the Christian Faith, whereof We are by God appointed the Defender; beside the other great Inconveniences, to the Disturbance of Our Peaceable Government. We therefore, according to the Authority we have, do Charge and Command you, as the Bishop of that Dioces, with all manner of Diligence, to take Order through your Dioces, as well in Places exempt as otherwise, that no manner of Public and Divine Service, nor other Form of Administration of the Holy Sacraments, nor any other Rites and Ceremonies be in any sort used in the Church, but directly according to the Orders established by Our Laws. Neither that any manner of Person be suffered within your Dioces to preach, teach, read, or exercise any Function in the Church, but such as shall be lawfully approved and licensed, as Persons, able for their Knowledge and conformable to the Ministry in the Rites and Ceremonies of this church of *England*. And where there shall not be sufficient, able persons for Learning in any Cures, to preach or instruct their Cures as were requisite, there shall you limit the Curats to read the publick Homilies according to the Injunctions heretofore by Us given for like cases.

And furthermore, considering for the great Abuses that have been in sundry Places of Our Realm of the aforesaid Assemblies, called Exercises; and for that the same are not, nor have not been appointed nor warranted by Us or by Our Laws, We Will and straightly Charge You, That you do cause the same forthwith to cease and not to be used; but if any shall attempt, or continue, or renew the same, We Will you not only to commit them unto Prison, as Maintainers of Disorders, but also to advise Us, or Our Council of the Names and Qualities of them and of their Maintainers and Abettors. That thereupon, for better Example, their Punishment may be made more sharp for their Reformation.

And in these Things We charge you to be careful and vigilant, as by your Negligence, if We should hear of any Person attempting to offend us in the Premises without your Correction, or Information to Us, We be not forced to make some Example in Reforming of you according to your Deserts.

Given under our Signet at Our Manor of *Greenwich*, the vij. day of *May*, 1577, in the sixth Year of Our Reign.

This letter had the effect desired by the Queen, and the "Prophesyings" were everywhere suppressed.

The suppression of the "Prophesyings" coupled with a severe epidemic of the plague, in 1578, left the town of Northampton in a sorry plight, if we may judge from a letter* written by the Lord Keeper, Bacon, towards the

* *Speeches and Letters of the Lord Keeper Bacon*, Harleian MSS., 398.

close of that year. It is addressed to Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough, and runs as follows :—

My L. for the care and goodwill I beare to the poore towne of Northton I cannot but inquire of the state thereof from tyme to tyme, and of late being desirouse to understand of y^t specially hearinge howe it hathe ben lately afflicted by the visitacon of god through the sicknes. I asked what preachers they had amonge them to teache and comfort them, being people well affected to heare gods truthe. Answere was made me they weare wholye destitute of any preacher and had ben so a greate while. W^{ch} thinge My L. because bothe y^t touchethe yo^r charge and yo^r office, I have thought good to advertise youe thereof not as a matter I hope unknown unto youe being true (for so were the apparauce of your smalle care very manifest) but as one that doubtethe not that yf allreadye youe have not taken order for the Remedye of yt, you will wth all speede have due Regarde to see that performed w^{ch} in duty and conscience youe are bounde.

It weare a pitifull hearinge that a poore village being peopled shoulde be voyde of a preacher to teache them to knowe the lord and his truthe; but more lamentable yt is to heare that a towne so greate and so notorious as Northton shoulde be left destitute of a sufficient preacher. God forbyd yt should at any tyme so contynue. And my L. I understand I beare some blame for the displacing of one who preached before me at my beinge there. Wherein I have no smalle wronge for y^t it is reported that I shoulde write to yo^r L. to punish him and to displace him as a lewde. If this be gyven out yo^r L. can best tell whether ever I wrote any lett^re at all touching that man or no to youe, for true it is I never wrote to youe of him neither wth him nor against him. And albeit there were some things I did mislike in his sermon w^{ch} were rather for forme than for substance, I meane this, y^t the matter uttered orderlie and in fitt place had ben very good and tollerable: but uttered where and as it was, I misliked withall, and meetinge that daye with your Chauncelor he toulde me what he had harde of y^t preacher's misbehaviour, which I suppose was nothing lesse then he toulde me for indeede he touched your chauncelor somewhat neare, and perhaps by circumstaunce your negligence in parte, and yf weare true yet but unfityl dealte in.

It is hard for lacke of a little discretion so sharply to punishe the man for beinge to plaine in tellinge the trothe, but for my parte I wished him to reforme, that maner of deallinge beinge little to edificacon. And yet my L. I must tell youe as it was, I saide as plainely to your Chauncelor my selfe for these thinges not only uttered by the Preacher but enforced by men of good worshippe and Creditt of that Country for his notorious evill deallinge under youe in his office which, if it be true, he deserves as sharpe correccion at your handes and sharper then your poore preacher. The one seemed to ere of zealle, the other of meere Corruption as he is charged. And he promised to acquite himselfe within a short tyme after before some gentleman that were there of suche Crymes as he was touched withal, but I cannot learne yet that he hathe doune anythinge at all in it either for purgacon theire or for satisfaction to me here. And plainly I must say to your L. that it is a shame for a Bishoppe to have an officer that is so publicly defamed and not to seeke the truthe of his deserte, that eyther if he be innocent he maye be discharged, or if faulty justly punyshed. Howe piteouse a matter is this if a poore preacher touche either a Bishoppe for his negligence or Covetousenes or his officers for their briberye and extorcon, the poore man muste be punyshed and the greater faultes wincked at, but yet dothe your L. thinke that yf suche ynformacons as these came to her maties eares that she will not seek reformacon in the highest and proudest as well as in suche as for their private causes shoulde oppresse the poorest? Yes no doubtte, and be out of doubtte my L. that if these

things be not amended that if it come to her maties judgment, that she will strike with an even Rodd. Assuredly my L. either your Chauncelour hathe greate wronge, or else he is a naughtie man, and youe must give accompte for his doinges since his faulte growes by youre authoritie.

Well I am astrayde a little from my principall matter, weh is to move yo^r L. in due consideracon touching the poore toune of N. that you will comforte them wth that foode weh youe are bounde to gyve them. It is your office: your caulling, your profession and very dutye so to doe. And remember howe often before youe weare Bishoppe youe woulde finde fault wth negligence of Bishopps, howe much youe cryed out to have preachers and good ministers increased and carefullye placed and so did youe all almost that be nowe Bishoppes: But let me nowe looke into yo^r deedes, and beholde in every Dioces the want of preachers, naye the greate discouragm^t that preachers finde at yo^r handes. It will make men thinke youe never thoughte as youe speake or have forgotten that ever any suche matter was in yo^r mynde or mouthe: god directe yo^r hartes to execute those good things weh I have hard youe bothe teache and professe. For nowe are ye known what ye are, and by yo^r friuts shall men judge of yo^r doctrine and love indeede to the gospell, and youe are noe more a private man, youe have a greate charge and therefore it behovethe youe to have a greate and marvelouse diligence; not to lyve at home to teache and to looke only to yo^r particuler familie, yo^r whole dioces is yo^r charge, y^t is yo^r parishe and yo^r flocke, y^t is youe that must see they have teachers, and be watchfull that there creepe not in lewde teachers to abuse them and deceave them. It is not ynoughe for youe to truste either to a scrapinge chauncelour or to a covetouse commissary to see the examinations and placings of preachers and ministers wthin yo^r charge and to allowe and disallowe as please them. But so it is amongst the most parte of youe all at this daye throughout England, the more is the pitie. And to remedye this youe lake neither power nor authoritie youe have bothe dignities in name and power by jurisdiccon, but nowe my L. I nede not tell youe the faulte youe knowe it well ynoughe: the care of this worlde truly hath choked youe all, yea almost all for els coulde youe never be so negligent to sitt at home, never to stirre abroade to take paynes to doe good to the Church: to profite yourselves youe can be content well I knowe the oldest of youe and weakest of youe to make your visitacons which bringes pence to yo^r purse, but to make visitacons or travellinge jorneyes from place to place to examyn indeede howe the Churches be observed, howe Christe yo^r L. in truthe is served under youe weh hathe advanced youe and donne all this for youe. I can heare but of a fewe suche visitacons amonge any of youe, yet have I travelled by tymes throughe the most parte of yo^r jurisdiccions. I woulde youe coulde but beleve my L. that thinges be amisse in yo^r dioces that there be to fewe preachers, that the chiefe places want preachers, that the ministers for the most parte be unmete and unfit for so holy and so divine a vocation. If youe beleve it not, yet for discharge of yo^r office make prufe of it yo^r selfe. Take a little paynes by travell into the cuntry, examyne and see howe the Churches be served, but be youe an eye of it, give not all the creditte to reporte of yo^r officers. Truly my L. I write this with greif of harte, for I am so much an eye wites and an eare wites bothe for that it is to true in many places and all for lacke of a little diligence and paynes, nay rather it wilbe to muche cost: But looke to it my L. or els it will cost youe more than all yo^r goods will redeeme againe. Youe knowe this better than I can teache youe, but yet thinke well upon it at a frendes forewarninge and sett all other things aside whatsoever that be worldly and doe the office of a true right Bishoppe indeede. It is not impossible but the people woulde be better and yo^r ministers amende if youe the Bishopps woulde be more carefull and dilligent over them.

Well my L. I have entered into a large comon place here, I will returne againe to Northton. and those parts. I praye youe have care to see preachers planted amongst them : youe shall first please God, youe shall serve your prince and discharge yo^r dutye to both, and so I make an ende with my hartie comendacons to yo^r L. and commende youe to the grace of God in some hast the xxvijth of September, 1578.

On December 19th, 1578,* the Bishop instituted a certain William Jennings to the living of All Saints, on the presentation of the Queen. His appointment does not appear to have been a success, for on April 5th, 1579, the Bishop of Peterborough was directed by the Privy Council, in consequence of divers reports that had reached their lordships in regard to "ecclesiastical disorders and scandals at Northampton," to enquire into these disturbances, with "the assistance of some learned ministers in the places adjoyning, and especially Mr. Smith, parson of Bliseworthe, to inform himself more particularlie of the said disorders" and with the help of such gentlemen and the adjoining justices to take order for redress and reformation and to report to the Council.

At a sitting of the Privy Council held on May 20th, a further letter was sent to the Bishop of Peterborough and to Sir John Spencer, Sir Edward Brudenell, Sir Edward Montague, and Roger Cave, Esq., (or "to any fower or three of them") reciting that "the Bishop had excused himself from repairing to Northampton by reason of sickness, and requiring him, if recovered, to repair there at once with the others, calling unto them Mr. Shepparde, the Archdeacon, and the parson of Blisworth, to diligently inform themselves of all such disorders in that toune as either Jennings the minister there, or any other can deliver."

On June 11th, the Privy Council sent a letter to Sir John Spencer, Sir Edward Montague, and Roger Cave, to inquire *inter alia*, concerning "Jennings, one of the ministers of that toune, a man of light behaviour, who hath committed divers things unworthie his profession," and if they see cause to appoint him to appear before the Privy Council.

On August 3rd of the same year, the Privy Council met at Greenwich, and sent a letter to the Lord Treasurer

* About the same time, (1578) Walter Roche was instituted to the vicarage of St. Giles and Edmund Lytler to that of St. Sepulchre.

and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asking them to meet the Vice Chamberlain (Sir Christopher Hatton) at his house at Holdenby, and there to call before them "William Jennings, parson of All hallowes," the Mayor of Northampton, and other persons mentioned in the examination of Sir John Spencer and others, in order to endeavour to compound the controversies between them and to restore unity. It was further reported that the religiously disaffected in Northampton were resorting to Mr. Wentworth's house at Lillingston, "where they are admitted to receive the Sacramentes after an other sorte." They were ordered to send for Mr. Wentworth and put a stop to this irregularity. The sequel to this inquiry is somewhat amusing. At a meeting of the Privy Council on September 5th, 1580, a letter was despatched to the Bishop, requiring him to remove the preacher Jennings from Northampton, he being "a very unquiet and indiscreat person in his behaviour among the inhabitantes there," and to appoint in his place a man of better learning and discretion, sending Jennings meanwhile to a benefice in Devon "his Lordship giving him some good admonition to carry himself more temporarily there, than he hath don at Northampton."

In spite of this peremptory order for his dismissal, the offending Jennings continued to hold the living of All Saints for three years longer. In 1583 he appears to have offered to resign, but the Peterborough Episcopal Act books record that the Bishop, at a sitting held in "le grene parlour" of the Palace on November 23rd, 1583, allowed him to withdraw his resignation. A year later he again resigned or was dismissed, and John Johnson was instituted to the living August 14th, 1584.

The Puritan Classis.

After the suppression of the "Prophecyings" a bold attack was made by Cartwright and Travers and other of the extreme Puritan party, upon the power of the bishops. Recognising the futility of trying to obtain the abrogation of Episcopacy, they conceived the plan of depriving it of all authority by erecting under its shadow a Presbyterian system. "The scheme was an ingenious one. A *classis* or board of Puritan Clergy was formed in each of the districts into which the country was divided,

which should be the unit of church government and the source of spiritual authority instead of the bishop. The ceremonial to be adopted in church, the dress to be worn out of church, the way in which the service should be conducted, were all to be regulated according to the 'counsels' of the *classis*, regardless of Ecclesiastical law or episcopal admonition. Candidates for ordination were to submit their qualifications for the ministry to the judgment of the *classis* and derive their spiritual authority from the 'call' of the *classis* instead of the ordination and licence of the bishop. But since in the eyes of the law, episcopal ordination and commission were necessary for the due discharge of their functions and the holding of benefices, the Puritan candidate who had received his 'call' from the *classis*, was permitted to procure ordination from the bishop as a ceremony required by law to remedy the defect in his legal status, but having in itself no spiritual significance!"*

Fuller, (an almost contemporary writer) speaking of these *classes*, says he found them "more formally settled in Northamptonshire than anywhere else in England. For, as the west part of that shire is observed to be the highest place of England (*sic!*), as appeareth by the rivers rising there, and running thence to the four winds, so was that county a probable place (as the midst of the land) for the Presbyterian discipline, there erected, to derive itself into all quarters of the kingdom."†

The Northamptonshire *classis* seems to have been held very frequently at the "Bull" Inn, on the south side of All Saints church, closely adjoining the "George." Among the Burghley Papers‡ in the British Museum, is one which furnishes us with many interesting particulars respecting this assembly. It is entitled "Articles where-with y^e Ministers of Northam. and Warwick shires are charged, etc. 16 July, 1590." From this we learn that:—

At some of the Synodes it hath bene debated, concluded, agreed on and determined by all or moste voyces, that such as cannot preache, are no ministers; that the Sacraments oughte not to be received at their handes.

* Wakeman's *History of the Church of England* pp. 337-8.

† Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, book ix., section vii. 40.

‡ Lansd. MSS. 64 Plut. lxxiv. E. No. 16. This MS, has been reprinted by Mr. J. Taylor, of Northampton.

Item, the determinations made in synode have bene published and signified in sundrie of the Assemblies called Classes and by them assented unto to be put in execution. Namelie, a Classeis hath bene holden at the Bull in Northampton; in Mr. Sharpe's howsse, minister of Fawesley; and in Mr. Snape's chamber, and in everie or some of them, where the same Decrees or Articles, and others have bene published and made knowne to be executed.

Edmund Snape seems to have been the most influential member of the Northampton Classis, for the next fifteen articles of accusation refer to him. The following is a curious charge:—

Itm, Christopher Hodgekinson obteyned a promisse of y^e sayde Snape, that he woulde baptize his childe, but Snape added sayinge you must then give it a Christian name allowed in y^e scriptures. Then Hodgekinson tolde him that his wives father, whose name was Richarde, desired to have the givinge of the name. Well (sayde Snape) you must doe as I bid you, leaste when you come, the congregation be troubled. Notwtstinge Hodgekinson thinckinge it woulde not have bene made a matter of such importance, caused the childe to be broughte to St. Peter's, and Snape proceeded in th' action (though not accordinge to the booke of comon prayer by lawe established) untill he came to the naminge of y^e childe: but hearinge them calling it Richarde, and that they would not give it anye other name: he stayed there and woulde not in anye case baptize the Childe. And so it was carried awaye thence and was baptized the weeke follewinge at all-hallowes church* and called Richarde.

Snape was further accused that:—

Beeing or pretending to be curate of St. Peters in Northampton doth not in his ministracons reade the Confession, Absolucon, Psallmes, Lessons, Letanie, Epistle, Gospell, Administreth the Sacraments of baptisme, and the supper, marieth, burieth, churcheth, or giveth thanckes for weomen after childe burthe, visiteth the sycke, nor perfourmeth other partes of his dutie at all, or at least not accordinge to the forme prescribed by the booke of comon prayer authorized: but in some chaunge, some partes omitteth and others addeth, choppeth and minglith it w^t other prayers and speches of his owne etc. as it pleaseth his owne humor.

The last four of the "Articles of Accusation" relate to the "calling" of ministers by the *classis*. It had been agreed upon by the Synod or supreme council, that

Everie man in his severall charge shoulde endeouvre to erect a government of Pastors, governinge elders and deacons; that they shoulde teache and holde that all ministers who are called accordinge to the order of the Church of Englande to be an unlawfull or have an unlawfull callinge: And that such allreadie beinge ministers, shoulde be induced to renounce their former callinge by Bishoppes, and to take a newe approbacon by them in their classis, being an assemblye of sondrie ministers wthin a certayne compasse in a shyer and whereof they have aboute iiii in a shier, or so manye as convenientye may be.

* The All Saints Parish Register contains the following entry:—June 1589, Richard filius Christoferi Hodgekinson, baptizatus fuit xvij^o.

The system did not always work very smoothly, if we may judge from the last of the articles in this Lansdowne MS.

It'm, accordinge to the usuall place concluded on in that behalfe, one Hocknell havinge bene 6 or 7 yeares afore a minister, beeinge to have a benefice was willed to bringe some testimoniall from the ministers of the sayde shier for his sufficiencie and conversacon. Whereupon he cominge to the sayde Snape, was willed to renounce his first callinge, and not to stande by the Bishoppes callinge into the ministrie: And had to that purpose by him and his companions of the classis a text given and a day prefixed to preach upon it - wch was by Hocknell perfourmed before the classis and others at St. Peters aforesayde. After wch sermon the classis alone beinge assembled, Hocknell was willed to stande aloof. Then Penrie* began to make a speche, and to exhorte them to be carefull to call upon God and to deale wthout affection in this action. After wch they fell to consultacon. Some lyked that he shoulde be admitted: and others misliked both because he had not delyvered the Metaphore that was in his text: and because he was no grecian nor hebritian. Who over-weyng the rest, Hocknell was called for and in some sort comended. But ye speaker of the classis tolde him he must take more paynes at his booke before they would allowe of him as a fytt minister. Whereupon Hocknell fell out w^t them and contemninge theyr censures did proceede and tooke possession of his benefice.

In 1590 severe measures against the Puritans were resolved upon by the Queen and Primate. Cartwright, their leader, was imprisoned for refusing the *ex-officio* oath, and numbers of other ministers in various parts of the country shared the same fate. The result of these repressive measures was completely successful, and for the time being at least the *classes* were stamped out.†

The Martin Marprelate Tracts.

The tightening of the bands of discipline by the bishops towards the close of the sixteenth century, roused the more extreme section of the Puritan party to fury, and gave rise to the series of scurrilous libels known in history as the Martin Marprelate Tracts. It is of course an admitted fact that the language used by controversialists of those days was often coarse and revolting, but the terms employed by the Martinists

* See p. 120.

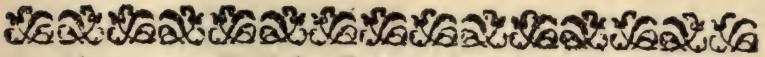
† Under the Commonwealth the *classes* were revived. An elaborate account of the proceedings of the *classis* as established at that time under the Presbyterians, with a reprint of the Wirksworth *classis* minute book, from 1651-58, is given in an article by Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. ii., pp. 135-222. The rules of this Derbyshire *classis* seem to have been very similar to those in vogue in Northampton in the preceding century.

must have been distasteful even to their own party. The Archbishop is alluded to as "Beelzebub of Canterbury, the Canterbury Caiaphas, a monstrous Antichrist, a most bloody tyrant"; the bishops are designated as "incarnate devils, cozening knaves, and enemies of God."; while the clergy are "dolts, hogs, drunkards, foxes, dogs, desperate and forlorn atheists." Coarse abuse of this kind generally recoils upon the heads of those who are guilty of it, and tends to retard rather than assist the cause they have in view.

It is of course true that the Marprelate Tracts have no direct connection with the church of All Saints, but as they are closely connected with the religious system of which All Saints in the sixteenth century was an important centre, and as one of the most celebrated of them was printed in the immediate neighbourhood, they cannot be altogether passed over in silence. They were printed secretly on a small movable press which was carried from place to place when danger threatened. It was first set up at East Molesey in Surrey, at the house of a certain Mistress Crane, and was removed thence to Fawsley in Northamptonshire (the seat of Sir Richard Knightley), where the second of the tracts known as the *Epitome* was printed. A facsimile print of the title page of this work is here reproduced, by the kindness of Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton. (See p. 119.)

Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum is a transcript of the brief held by Sir John Puckering, the Attorney General, against the Martinists. (Harl. MSS. 7042.) The chief advocate of the movement in Northamptonshire was the above-mentioned Richard Knightley, about whom we learn that

In his own examination he doth confess that a little before Michaelmas was twelvemonth [*i.e.* September, 1588], Penrie came unto him and moved him that he might have a Rome [room] in his House to print a like Booke to that which he had before made concerning the *Unlearned Ministri of Wales*, and that one Jeffs, a Tenant, or his sonne, as he herd, brought the printing Press to his House at Fawlesley where a Booke called the *Epitome* was printed, from whence the Press was carried to his House at Norton, about Christmas [1588] last. And touching the Author of the Booke, he knoweth not, unless yt were Penry: And lykewyse sayth, that Wal[de]grave was the Printer. And further he confesseth . . . that Stephen his Servant carried the Press and the Letters [type] from Norton to Coventrie, to y^e House of John Hales Esquire. And this much appeareth by his own confession.



Sh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges/ for it is worthy worke:

Dr an epitome of the
 fyfste Booke/ of that right worshipfull vo-
 lume/ written against the Puritanes/ in the defence of
 the noble cleargie/ by as worshipfull a p[ri]este/ Iohn Bridges/
 P[re]sbyter/ P[ri]est or elder/ docto[er] of Diuinitie/ and Deane of
 Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are
 wisely prevented/ that when they come to an-
 swere M. Docto[er] they must needes
 say some thing that hath
 bene spoken,

Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of
 the vnpreaching Parsons/ fyers/ and Currats/
 that haue leant their Catechismes/ and are past grace:
 By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelat
 gentleman/ and dedicated by a second Epistle
 to the Terrible P[ri]ests.

In this Epitome/ the foresaide fyers/ &c. are very in-
 sufficiently furnished/ with notable inabilitie of most vin-
 cible reasons/ to answer the caull
 of the puritanes.

And lest M. Docto[er] should thinke that no man can write with-
 out sence but his selfe/ the senceles titles of the seueral pages/
 and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome/
 shew plainely/ that beetleheaded ignoraunce/ must not liue
 and die with him alone.

Printed on the other hand of some of the P[ri]ests.

Other witnesses against Sir R. Knightley gave evidence of the removal of the printing press in baskets from "Mistress Crane's house in Mowseley" to Fawsley, where it was "bestowed in the nursery," the key of which was given to Penry. Here "the *Epilome* which is y^e second Booke of Martyn," was printed by Waldegrave. It was further deposed that in January, 1588-9, the press was conveyed to "a Farme House of the said Sir Richard Knightley's in Norton, where yt remained about a fortnight, but was not occupied in yat tyme, and after that fortnight ended the said Stephen Gyfford confessed that he conveyed the same Press to the House of Master Hales in Coventrye, by the Commandment of the said Sir Richard, with his Carte and Horses."

From Coventry the press was removed to Warrington and from thence to Newton Heath, near Manchester, where it was seized by the Earl of Derby and destroyed, August, 1589. For his share in the transaction Penry was condemned to death and executed, while Sir Richard Knightley was fined £2,000 (at least £20,000 according to the present purchasing value of money) and ordered to be confined during the Queen's pleasure.

Who was the actual author of these tracts will probably never be known with absolute certainty, but it seems on the whole most probable that they were the work of Job Throgmorton and John Penry, the latter of whom paid the penalty for his indiscretion with his life.*

* For fuller information on this subject see *An Introductory Sketch of the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, by E. Arber, F.S.A., and the Rev. W. Maskell's *Martin Marprelate*.



CHAPTER X.

THE PURITANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE history of the church of All Saints in the first half of the seventeenth century is an exceedingly interesting one, owing to the various religious vicissitudes through which it passed.

At the beginning of the reign of Charles I., Dr. Sibthorpe proclaimed from the pulpit of All Saints the duty of passive obedience in its most extreme form. A few years later, after strenuous opposition, the Laudian reforms were carried out, only to be upset a year or two afterwards, when the Presbyterians gained the ascendancy. Eventually they in their turn had to give way to the Independents, and the chapter closes with the disturbances raised by the Quakers.

In 1626 Charles I., who had quarrelled with his Parliament, conceived the ill-advised plan of trying to govern without one, and attempted to raise money from the country at large by so-called "free gifts" or

“benevolences” for the support of the war. The result was not a success, and it was then suggested that “if men could not be forced to give money to the King, they had often been forced to lend.” Charles accordingly ordered the immediate collection of a “forced loan.” In every county and borough the plan met with the keenest opposition, and moderate men of all parties denounced the King’s methods as inexpedient and unconstitutional. Unfortunately, however, as is so often the case, the views of the more extreme men in his council prevailed with the King, and the “forced loans” were insisted upon wherever it seemed possible to collect them. The men of Northamptonshire protested strongly against these exactions, but Dr. Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley, strenuously supported the King. At the Northampton assizes held in February, 1626-7, Sibthorpe preached a sermon at All Saints in which he maintained the royal authority and prerogative in the most exaggerated terms and taught the duty of passive obedience in every conceivable case. “If,” said he, “princes command anything which subjects may not perform because it is against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, yet such subjects are bound to undergo punishment without either resistance or railing or reviling, and so yield a *passive obedience* where they cannot yield an active one.” This sermon led to curious complications. Archbishop Abbot was requested to licence it in order that it might be printed, but refused, stating his objections both to the general tenor of the sermon, as well as to particular assertions contained in it. As a result he was suspended from his office. Eventually Dr. Sibthorpe toned down some of the most obnoxious expressions, and the sermon was submitted by the King to a committee consisting of the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells [Laud], who were asked to decide whether the sermon was or was not fit to be printed. They decided in the affirmative. This once celebrated sermon is now exceedingly scarce, but a copy is still preserved in the British Museum. The following is a transcript of the title page:—

APOSTOLIKE OBEDIENCE.

Shewing the duty of subjects to pay Tribute and Taxes to their Princes according to the word of God, in the Law and the Gospel, and the Rules of Religion and Cases of Conscience: determined by the Ancient Fathers

and the best Moderne Divines; yea even by those Neoterickes, who in some other things put too strict Limits to Regalitie.

A Sermon preached at Northampton, at the Assizes, for the Countie, February 22nd, 1626. By Robert Sybthorpe, Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Brackley.

Tributa vero et Censuræ iis qui a vobis constituti sunt ubique, imprimis conamur pendere. Just. Mart. Apol. pro Christian: ad Anton: Pium.

London, Printed by Miles Fletcher, and to be sold by James Bowler, 1627.

The sermon forms a well-printed thin quarto of forty pages. On the back of the title page is the following imprimatur:—

I have read over this sermon upon Rom. 13, 7, preached at Northampton, at the Assizes for the County, Feb. 22nd, 1626, by Robert Sybthorpe, Doctor of Divinity, Vicar of Brackley, and I do approve of it as a sermon learnedly and discreetly preached and agreeable to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Church, both for Faith and good manners, and to the Doctrine established in the Church of England and therefore under my hand I give authority for the printing of it, May 8th, 1627.

GEO. LONDON.

George Montaigne, Bishop of London, was not one of the episcopal committee owing to his deafness, but he had the sermon (with the objections and answers) afterwards submitted to him.

This episcopal imprimatur is followed by a most fulsome but brief epistle dedicatory addressed to King Charles. A marginal note states that when the Lord President of the Council and the Earl of Exeter were at Northampton on January 12th, Dr. Sibthorpe, with other divines, "was put upon it to deliver my opinion in case of Conscience and Religion, *Whether it were lawfull to lend to the King or not?*"

A curious address to the Church and Commonwealth of England follows the dedication. It is reproduced in full:—

To his dear and Novrceing Mother,
The
Church and Commonweale of England
an humble sonne and devoted servant
prayeth peace and prosperitie.
Holy and Happy Mother,

I know his Majesties Love desireth to have you united and neare unto him, and so much he hath injoynd us of the Tribe of Levi to certify unto you. Wherefore I thought it not my part to separate you, especially in a businesse which so nearly concerneth you as well as him; But earnestly to entreate you to take consideration of the innocencie and

obedience wherewith our Religion hath hitherto been crowned (which I here point at briefly and could demonstrate at large) and the peace and prosperitie which it hath produced. And whereas the Prince pleads not the power of Prerogative, nor the leading of Presidents, so much as Pitie for Religion's protection, the State's occasion, and the inevitable necessitie of the season, oh! Let not the people stand so much upon the pretence of libertie as to lose saftie. Nor let Forms bring the Matter to Privation, but all meete in a sweet mean for Preservation of the Vniverse; for which perpetually praying, I continue

at your service and dispose

ROB. SYBTHORPE.

The boldness of Dr. Sibthorpe's deliverance, which was only surpassed by that of his friend Dr. Mainwaring, rector of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, London, brought him into special notice. The King made him one of his chaplains-in-ordinary and presented him with the living of Burton Latimer, vacant through the promotion of Dr. Owen to the see of St. Asaph.

The Laudian Reformation.

In 1633, on the death of Archbishop Abbot, Laud, who for five years had held the see of London, was raised to the Primacy, and in the following year began his celebrated Metropolitanical Visitation. For three years (1634-7) his vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent went through the length and breadth of the land (the province of York alone excepted) correcting abuses and summoning refractory clergy and churchwardens before the Court of High Commission. The state of things revealed in his report is certainly somewhat startling. It is impossible to exaggerate the wanton defiance of rubrics, order, and doctrine, accompanied by the grossest irreverence, of which a large portion of nominal conformists, both clergy and laity were constantly guilty. To take a couple of instances from Northamptonshire, we read that at Brigstock "a clergyman named Price scarcely ever read the Litany or the commandments. In reading the scriptures he omitted the name of Jesus, lest the people should take occasion to bow. He left infants unbaptized and administered the communion to persons sitting. He refused to read the declaration of sports, stopping his ears while it was being read by the clerk. He locked the door upon his congregation and kept them in church to hear him preach till dark." At

Oundle the minister, Mr. Cobbes, was found to be instructing his scholars out of a wrong catechism and to be expounding the ten commandments unto them out of the writings of a silenced minister. He also refused to bow at the name of Jesus. Order was therefore taken for his suspension in case of his persistent refusal.

With regard to the great church of Northampton, the commissioner reported as follows :—

Northampton, May 11 and 12, 1635.

At my first entrance, the Aldermen (the Mayor being newly dead) came all unto me and brought me a present. The next daye being Sunday, I observed that in tyme of divine service many put on their hatts at morning prayer : but in the afternoone (having marked what I did in the morning) they were all bare and soe continued Munday and Tuesday when I visited. Noe man boweth at the pronouncing of the name of Jesus and it is the greatest matter they sticke upon. By reason of much importunity and *ad convincendam malitiam*, I have respited them until the beginning of August, having assured them that offenders afterwards shall answere their contempts in the Court of High Commission. And I hope your Grace will be pleased to give leave. Mr. Ball, the chiefe Minister of the Toune was assured to have given the Sacrament of the Eucharist to non-kneelants. But because he protested of his innocency and offered to take his oath and proved by witnesses that he had refused many in that kinde, I was contented to let him scape with an admonition : and I have told him that if the Towne doe not reforme, he (because his power is great amongst them) will and ought to suffer in a very high degree. I have ordered divers things in the churches and churchyards there, and have caused a legall Act to be made thereon.*

The Bishop of Peterborough (Francis Dee) cordially supported the Primate in his work of reform, and appointed Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. Peter's, Northampton, and Dr. Robert Sibthorpe to act as episcopal commissioners in making a further circumstantial visitation of the diocese. The detailed report drawn up by them with regard to the church of All Saints shows that reform was urgently needed. This interesting document is dated October 26th, 1637, and runs as follows :—

All S^{ts} Northampton.

The Chancell is seated wth benches and ballaster deskes before, in all the upper part thereof, w^{ch} benches and deskes are to be removed, soe manie as reach thirtene foot downward from the East end of the chancell.

The Comunion table is to be placed at the east end of the chancell and to be canceled in wth a returneing rayle or cancellinge extendinge downward tenn foote. And a kneeling bench for the communicants is to be affixed on every part of the cancellinge that so all the communi-

* Sir Nathaniel Brent's report of the Metropolitanical Visitation, 1635.

cants may come up thither, and reverently receive the communion kneelinge.

The pavem^t in the lower part of ye chancell beneath the second discent is uneven, rough, and broken in divers places, and stands need to be taken up in most places, and newe layd againe, and in divers places to be supplied either wth bricke as formerly it hath bene, or else wth hewen squared stone beseeminge soe beautifull a fabricke and the house of God.

All the seats in the lower part of the chancell and wings thereof except the ancient collegiate seats are to be removed, and noe seats to be suffered there w^{ch} may be screenes to hide the people from being discovered whether they reverently kneele at the prayers, and use such other gestures as are injoynd by the Church of England before, at, and after the sacrament.

The vestry wants plaisteringe, whiteinge and paveing in all parts, and the windowes want glazeinge.

The communion cupps are like comon drinking bowles, and are to be made challice fashion.

The Kings Remonstrance, or Apologie* is wantinge.

They want the booke for his Mate Coronacon the 27th of March.

They want the book for tolleracion of lawful recreacions &c.†

The sealeing of the vestry is broke in divers places.

It doth not appeare that either the minister or people doe reverently bowe at the name of the Lord Jesus in time of divine service.

The parishioners have not yet received the communion at the rayles.

The minister doth not bidd holidayes, &c.

It doth not appear to us that ye minister doth turne his sermons in the afternoone into a catechaticall way of questions and answers, but doth preach accordinge in his owne fancie.

There are a companie of cobleing patchd boords clamped together w^{ch} serve as a seate at the upper end of the church under the belfry, w^{ch} defaces that beautifull church and is fitt for nothing but to hide sleepers. The particion before it is a foott too high, and so is the wainscott of the next seat to it under ye loft.

All the seates in the middle space w^{ch} extend further then the ancient worke, and the returne of the wall at the end of the Chancellors seate damm up a great part of the midle space and are to be pulled up and removed.

The Chancellors seate and 3 other seates downeward are too high by 3 inches.

* The *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* was published in February, 1609, by James I. It was an answer to the Pope, who had issued two Briefs condemning the Oath of Allegiance and forbidding the English Catholics to take it.

† *The Declaration of Sports*, first issued by King James, was republished by Charles I. in October, 1633. It declared on the Royal authority that as soon as the Sunday afternoon service was over, the King's "good people should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing for either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having May games, Whit-ales, and Morris dances, and the setting up of May poles and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of divine service."

This famous declaration (which was intended to stop the enforcement of the strict Puritan Sabbath) was ordered to be read from the pulpit. It was bitterly opposed by the Puritan clergy and many resolutely declined to read it.

The desks of the seates on the north side of the middle space make ye seats too high and therefore fitt to be removed.

The pavement of the church is uneven in most places and broken in divers places most part of it of rough stone, a great deale of it fitter for the gripp of a cowhouse then the house of God, wch stands need to be taken up and newe layd, and the defects supplied wth hewen squared stone beseeming that sacred place.

A great manie of the seates in the North ile are neither paved nor boarded in the bottomes and divers of the seats there are broken and a great part of it is unseated wherein might be placed seats enough 5 times soe manie as are to be removed out of the middle space upon plucking up of the seates wch nowe stopp the same. There are in the said ile two very fair collegiate seates and backs wth part of a third, wch have been removed out of the chancell, and worsrer placed in their stead, thereby to draw those seats in the chancell from whence they were removed to be the deeper, and the better screenes for those that sit there at the communion from being discovered whether they kneele or noe at the receiveing of the same. Which collegiate settles and backes are to be returned to the place from whence they were removed, and there decently and firmly placed and all the rest to be supplied and made into the ancient collegiate forme in those places of the chancell from whence they were translated, and the depth and height of the seates there are to be reduced to their ancient forme and size and not otherwise. The chappell on the north side called Neeles Chappell wants paveing in the bottome and the settles are broken. The Church, and chancell, and and chappell want whiteing and paintinge or beautifying throughout.

Some of the seates in the north ile above Neeles Chappell want boarding in ye bottomes.

A great part of the church or north ile above Neeles Chappell want paveing and seatinge, wherein there might be conveniently placed for heareinge and seeing tenn tymes soe manie as are to be removed out of the middle space when the seats are pluck'd up, which nowe damm up the same.

There are a companie of base patched boords and peeces of woodd in the belfrey cobled together instead of a case for the clock plummettes, and a decent case ought there to bee placed.

The seats of the south ile wont boarding and paveing in the bottoms. The seate next below the font and the lowest seate next that are patched up with base undecent boords, unbeseeming the house of God.

The place where the minister stands to administer the sacramt of baptisme is soe strait and nere to the font as yt ye minister cannot kneele at anie of the prayers, &c.

The wainescott at the end of the seats upon the north and south ile is broken.

At the south end of the loft at the west part of the church there are certine broken boords undecently patch'd up agt the ballisters to the deformeinge of the worke. And upon the topp of the rayle thereof there are certine boords unseemly and clouterly nailed up &c.

The bottomes of diverse seates in the loft are broken and three of the windows on the south side of the church stopped up at the bottomes.

The staires up to the consistorie and the boarding of the floore above the staires and the table in the consistorie are all broken, undecent and insufficient.

The bottomes of the windowes in the consistory are broken, and the porch under it wants paveinge.

The crosse wch was upon the east end of the chancell is broken down, and instead thereof the towne's Armes are sett up as if it were the towne's church and not Christ's.

The churchyard is basely defiled wth excrements and it appears that there is usuall evacuating ag^t the church walls at the doores and at the most eminent ends and frontispieces thereof.

There hath been a vestry or other roome on the north side of part of the upper end of the chancell above the north winge or ile of the lower part of the chancell aunswerable to y^t w^{ch} is nowe prepareing for a vestry on the south part in w^{ch} buildinge of the north side there was formerly a schoole taught by Mr. Bradshawe then curat of All Saints, w^{ch} is utterly ruined and taken away. But there appears the signe of the doore formerly leading out of the chancell into the same, and there is still a doare leading out of the north wing of the lower chancell, into that place where that buildinge stood.

The churchyard mounds are too lowe and defective in divers places and much rubbish lyeth ag^t the church walles to y^e ruineing of the same.

The windowes of the church and chancell want glaizing in divers places.

The crosse seates in the south space and all the desks leaneinge over into the same space, or anie other spaces of the church doe annoy the same and are to be removed.

The south east corner of the consistorie, the topp of a window east in the south ile or wing of the lower chancell, and y^e north side are all cracked, want peinting and repaire.

If Laud and those bishops who sympathised with him had contented themselves with checking irreverence in sacred buildings, in seeing that the fabrics of the churches were kept in proper repair, and that the church funds were not embezzled, they would have met with little opposition. They were, moreover, strictly within their rights in compelling refractory clergy to obey the rubrics of the Prayer Book, and in forbidding the alteration of the prescribed services to suit the mere caprice of the officiating minister, for "unrestricted licence to the clergyman to select what prayers he chooses and to use what language he chooses in the pulpit, is sheer tyranny over his congregation, as long as that congregation is compelled by law to attend upon his ministrations, and is also debarred by law from exercising any restraint upon his words and actions."*

But when the bishops attempted to interfere with the position of the communion table, opposition was at once aroused. By the canons of 1603, the Holy Table was to remain at the east end of the chancel save only when it was required for the celebration of the Holy Communion, at which time it was to be placed in that part of the church or chancel from which "the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration." In practice, however, in

* Gardiner's *Hist. of England 1603—1642*, viii. 112.

many churches, it remained permanently in the body of the church—a position which led to the gravest abuses. It became a convenient receptacle for hats and cloaks—a writing table on which the churchwardens could transact the business of the parish, or children learn to read and write. “During the sermon it was often a convenient seat for any who could not find places to please them in other parts of the church, and being central, it was regarded as a post of advantage from which men could better see and hear.” This scandalous desecration of the holy table roused the indignation of Laud. Accordingly he issued an injunction that for the sake of reverence and decency, the tables should be everywhere taken back to the east end of the chancel and railed in.* In this action the Primate was supported by nearly all the bishops and by a large number of the clergy, but in not a few places the order met with the bitterest opposition. At Beckington, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, the churchwardens resolutely refused to obey the injunction, and after repeated warnings, were excommunicated and thrown into prison. At the church of All Saints, Northampton, the Bishop found the parochial officials equally refractory.

On October 27th, 1637, the vicar, Thomas Ball was summoned before the episcopal commissioners and the following is a short abstract of the proceedings which ensued :—

Notarial minute of proceedings of Dr. Samuel Clarke and Dr. Robert Sibthorpe commissaries of the Bishop of Peterborough, to visit the churches of his diocese, in the residence of Dr. Clarke at Kingsthorpe.

Thomas Ball, vicar of All Saints, Northampton, appeared before the visitors and was admonished by them to observe all the rites of the Church of England, and particularly bowing at the name of the Lord Jesus; that the communion table be not taken away from the east end of the chancel, and that it be cancelled; and that he appoint so many communions betwixt this and Candlemas, as that all the parishioners may receive the same, and give notice to the parishioners to come up and receive at the rails, kneeling upon the bench there; and that he do not come out of the cancelling to deliver the communion to any factious person. Time was assigned to him to certify herein on the first sitting day after the feast of the Purification.

* Laud quoted in support of this order the last Injunction of Elizabeth which ordered that the “Holy table in every church shall be decently made and be set in the place where the altar stood” *i.e.* at the upper end of the choir.

Meanwhile, the churchwardens of All Saints, Peter Farren and Francis Rushworth, were also cited before the visitors, and were admonished to rail in the communion table and affix a kneeling bench to the same; also to remove certain seats extending thirteen feet downwards from the east end of the chancel, and place the communion table altarwise close to the east end; and also to observe diligently the gestures of the ministers and parishioners, as to whether they bowed at the name of Jesus, and whether the ministers bade holy days, and turned their afternoon sermons into a catechetical way of questions and answers, or preached according to their own fancies; and finally, whether the parishioners received the communion kneeling.

On December 16th, 1637, both the wardens appeared again before the visitors, and not having carried out these orders, they were warned to execute the same for the second and third time, urgently, more urgently, and most urgently. On January 12th, 1637-8, they appeared again, and the mandate not having been obeyed, they were both excommunicated.

In the following month the excommunicated wardens petitioned Archbishop Laud, stating that on December 16th last, petitioners were by the ordinary's surrogate admonished to cancel in the communion table before the 12th of January last, which petitioners were noways able to perform, by reason that during Christmas fit workmen could not be procured. Thereupon the surrogate excommunicated petitioners, who then had begun the said work, and shortly after the said excommunication they completed it. They prayed to be absolved, and the surrogate refusing, they were forced to make their appeal to the court of Arches, where by the information of the surrogate they cannot obtain their absolutions. They pray order to the Dean of Arches for their absolution.

The petition was referred to the Dean of Arches (Sir John Lambe), who was instructed "if he found the suggestions true, to take order that the petitioners be absolved."

It seems that eventually the excommunication was removed, and the chancel for the time re-arranged.

The settlement thus effected was of very brief duration, for a few weeks later Northampton was visited by a

severe epidemic of the plague. In the confusion which ensued the Puritan party seized the opportunity of reverting to the former order of things at All Saints.

Dr. Clarke, one of the commissioners, writing to the Dean of Arches on June 17th of that year, says:—

The sickness is sore at Northampton. They now do what they like in the church service at All Saints. Some very lately cut the rail or cancel that was about the Lord's board in pieces, and brought down the Lord's table into the middle of the chancel. I long since advised the Mayor and his brethren that the Thursday lecture and sermons on Sunday in the afternoon, should be forborne in these infectious times. They then raised a report of me that I was about to starve their souls.

On June 29th, Dr. Sibthorpe, the other commissioner, writing to the Dean of Arches on the religious affairs of the town and district, says:—

Northampton men continue still inveighing against idolatry, yet idoleing their owne inventions. Insomuch that upon Thursday June 21^o there was a preaching fast, by Mr. Ball in the forenoone, and Mr. Newton in the afternoone but neither of them prayed for any Arch Bishops or B^{ps} nor used the Lords prayer at conclusion of theirs before sermon, nor did they, or the people use any of the reverend gestures or rites and ceremonies enioyed,

Further light is thrown on the condition of affairs at All Saints at this time by an interesting report by a layman of the parish. It is preserved among the Domestic State Papers at the Public Record Office.* It is given here in a somewhat abbreviated form:—

? 1637-8

Information of Mr. Ramsdell concerning the Puritanical doings at All Saints Church, Northampton.

Upon Ascension Day at a lecture, Mr. Crawford preached against ceremonies; against bowing before the altar, as though He whom heaven and earth cannot contain can be confined in a narrow room; against burning candles, as though He wanted light Who giveth light to the sun, moon, and stars. God regards not bodily worship for He is a spirit and we must worship Him in spirit. To the King we may do reverence because he is visible, but to do so to God invisible hath a show of idolatry. These and many other things he preached or rather prated of as confidently as though he had been in New England. At that sermon there were 800 and there are no fewer than 500 or 600 every lecture on Thursday, yet on Wednesday or Sunday seldom above five or six at prayers, but when sermon begins, there is such a flocking into the church, where they un-reverently squat down in their seats and few or none kneel either at their own devotions or at common prayer, or stand up at the *Gloria Patri* or bow at the blessed name of Jesus. Though the Communion Table is set altarwise at the end of the chancel and railed in, yet ordinary townsmen

* Domestic State Papers, Charles I. cccclxxiv. 80.

follow the priest within the rails with the consecrated Bread and Wine.

The Bishop of Peterborough preached here a godly sermon and did so humbly adore before the altar, as did those with him, Dr. Heath and Dr. Clarke, as to set an example to invite the beholders to do the like. But neither our vicar, Mr. Ball, or his curate Mr. Newton, do so; neither do they bow at the name of Jesus, and they administer to communicants sitting, and the Book of Recreations is never read.

Mr. Rogers,* the famous great preacher's son in Essex, never shows himself in church, being master of the Freeschool, but when he can he shows himself a nonconformist, and administers without a surplice to communicants sitting. He said I should live more quietly if I should leave the town. The churchwarden himself, Mr. Rushworth, affronted me and said I brought new customs into their church, which he neither found in the Canons or Rubrics, nor was enjoined by Act of Parliament, and did I know more?

I am smiled at by the ministers and better sort, and laught out of the church by the vulgar. The men are a little more spareing herein then heretofore, but women and boyes were never so forward, wh^h makes mee think they sett them on. A tradesman's maide watching my coming to do it, sd^d take heed of your nose for I heare of one lately did fall downe and bruise his face as he was bowing. And a tradesman's son did run a stoole against me foot foremost when I did obeysance. I am counted a papist they say throughout the towne. There cannot be a more scornfull parish and people in England.

At the side of the page in a different hand is the following:—

Dr. Clark and Mr. Sibthorp causd the altar to be set at upper end of chancell but at communion they brought it againe to y^e midle and do alwayes turn it table wise at communion.

In the same hand at the bottom of the page:—

Mr. Ball suffered one Mr. Mahow or Mahoe, my Lord saigh [Say] his chaplaine, being a silenced minister as I am informed by Mr. Yong, curat, to preach here in October on these words, For y^e son of man, etc, wherein he mayntayned that it is utterly unlawfull to make or have the picture of Christ: his arguments I do not remember; the scripture alledged but mistaken, "though we have known Christ after the flesh yet henceforth know we him no more." And upon Innocents day he came agayne in the forenone, did stand with his hat on all sermon tyme with a light browne coat on scarcely like a clargieman and in yestornoone preached on these words Grow in grace; was very vehement in his use of reprehension saying these are and decayinge tymes wherein many did oppose those who grow in grace; but they must have fellowship one with another and fortifie themselfes against evill tymes. Mr. Ball often uses very homely comparisons: on Christmas day [he said] many did serve the King for their own ends that they may domeneer in the country but God's children etc.

* Daniel Rogers, M.A., was appointed Master of the Freeschool, April 6th, 1632. He seems to have got into trouble with the authorities, for in 1641 the town assembly ordered that "there shalbe a new school-master thought upon for the toune before the anunciation of our Ladie next, and that Mr. Rogers in the meane tyme shalle provide for himselfe otherwyse."

Subjoined is a list of those who received sitting :—

1 Sunday Aug.	*Mr. Collis, maior	}	}	These received sitting from Mr. Ball, Viccar.
1 Sunday October New Yeares day.	†Joseph Sargeant, draper 6 women I know but one 10 whereof I know but 4 Joseph Sargeant, draper ‡Goodman late bailiffe Freind, Junior, a barber Hall a sargeant			
1 Sunday September	penbo a haberdasher William Bote linin draper §Tho : Pendleton shoemaker and on the 2 Sunday in Sept. did sit with his hat on at Baptism all the tyme and upon 3 Sunday had it on till the preest came to these words will you be baptized in this faith	}	}	These received sitting from Mr. Newton curat.
1 Sunday October	6 whereof I know but ||John Smart hosier **Sam : Martin			
New Yeares or on Sunday before.	10 I know none but Will Bote and Pendleton a shomaker			
October Sunday	Mr. Newton arrived here from high comission in thafternoone read prayers 2 lesson 3 Philip. where name of Jesus diverse tymes as also in Baptism but never did then or as yet obeysance. Upon All Saints day omitted ye Lords prayer 3 tymes in morninge prayer at high service churching marriage.			

The Vicar of All Saints summoned before the Council.

In 1640 Thomas Ball seems to have been again in trouble with the authorities. It is impossible now to ascertain what were the charges laid against him, but he appears to have been taken into custody and brought to London to await trial.

The following is a short abstract of the petition sent by him and others to the Council, and the result of their appeal :—

* Wm. Collis was mayor in 1637.
 † Joseph Sargeant was mayor in 1644.
 ‡ George Goodman was bailiff in 1636.
 § Thomas Pendleton was mayor in 1648.
 || John Smart was bailiff in 1635.
 ** Samuel Martin was mayor in 1645.

1640 [? May].

PETITION OF THOMAS BALL.

Petition of Thomas Ball, vicar of All Souls [sic!] Northampton, Thos. Pentlow of Wilby, and 11 other persons all of Co. Northampton to the Council. Owing to some complaints made to the Lords, petitioners have been taken into the custody of messengers and are come up and have entered their appearances. Being altogether ignorant of any offences by them committed whereby they have incurred the Lords displeasure, and for that they attend here at great expense, they pray that they may speedily be called to answer what shall be objected against them, or else be discharged from any longer attendance.

1640. May 3rd.

Order of Council. The King present.

The Attorney General is hereby required to take into consideration the certificates against Thos. Ball, vicar of All Saints, Co. Northampton, Thos. Pentlow of Wilby, John Giffard, Alderman of Northampton, and 10 other Northamptonshire men here named and having taken their several answers to the charges laid against them, to certify this board his opinion what course is best to be taken against them.

1640. May 6th.

Inner Star Chamber. Order of Council.

This day upon hearing the Attorney General's report of answers and examinations of Thos. Ball, vicar of All Saints, Co. Northampton, Thos. Pentlow of Wilby, John Gifford, alderman of Northampton and 10 others named, of Co. Northampton, taken by order of this board. It was ordered that the Attorney General and Solicitor General, with others of His Majesty's learned Counsel, should consider these examinations and answers, together with the several certificates against them, and attend the two Lord Chief Justices with the same and thereupon take such course to proceed against such of the thirteen persons named as there shall be cause. And in the meantime all the parties to enter bond of £500 apiece to answer such informations as shall be brought against them respectively on His Majesty's behalf in any of the Courts of Justice. Upon their entering into bond accordingly, they are to be discharged from the messenger, paying fees.

The Etcetera Oath.

At the very time that Ball was appearing before the Star Chamber (May 1640), the two Houses of Convocation were drawing up a series of canons, seventeen in number, the most important being the sixth, which contained the famous "etcetera" oath, as it soon came to be called. The power of the "covenant" in binding Scotchmen together had not escaped the vigilant eye of Laud, and he determined that England too should have its oath. The "etcetera" oath was the result. It ran as follows:—

I, A. B., do swear that I approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary for salvation, and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly to bring in Popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established, nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome.

The Primate's plan proved a dismal failure, mainly because (as Gardiner aptly expresses it) "it was intended to impose it on those who did not want to take it, whilst the covenant, at least in its earlier days, was intended to bind together in conscious unity those who approved more or less zealously of its principles."

Everywhere the oath met with the bitterest opposition. What made it specially obnoxious was the ambiguous use of the word *etcetera*. What lay under that mysterious expression? Were clergy and laity alike to swear to some vague thing, they knew not what? A large number declined, and among others, Thomas Ball, vicar of All Saints.

Sir John Lambe, writing from Rothwell on August 27th, to Archbishop Laud, says:—

1640. Aug. 27.
Rothwell.

On August 25th last there was an assembly of Northamptonshire ministers and others at Kettering, when they concluded against the oath and agreed not to take it. The reasons of the London and western ministers and of our own county were approved. They were twenty-eight or thirty in number: I had a brother or two among them. The chiefest were Mr. Ball, vicar of All Saints, Northampton; Mr. Gill, rector of Titchmarsh; Mr. Perne, rector of Wilby; Mr. Cawdry, rector of Billing; Mr. Cranford, rector of Brockhall; Mr. Harris, rector of Kettering; Mr. Clarke, curate of Faxton; Mr. Spencer, rector of Scaldwell, and many others of Northamptonshire, three of Co. Leicester, two of Rutland, and others.

I must refer to you what is fit to be done with these assemblies. My Lord Privy Seal remembers his service to you. He was here to see this worshipful house at Rowell, though you disparage it and the whole town, not excepting our fine market house that should have been. The book called "The Intentions of the Scots" I hear swarms about London and here too. Mr. Young told me he would catch a nest of them. My Lord Privy Seal said that last Sunday morning though the Sabbath, 2,500 Scotch horse came over the Tweed into England, but the rain continuing and the river rising, wisely returned.

* Overton's *Church in England*, ii., 78.

*Thomas Ball refuses to pray for the King's Success
against the Scots.*

On August the 20th, the whole Scottish army, which Sir John Lambe describes as threatening the border, crossed the Tweed some 25,000 strong, and the second Bishops' War began. Before Charles started northwards to repel their invasion, the Primate issued a special form of prayer "for His Majesties safetie and good successe ag^t his Rebellious Subjects." A copy of this famous form of prayer is in the British Museum. It runs as follows:—

A Prayer for the King's Majestie in His expedition against the Rebels of Scotland.

To be said in all churches in time of Divine Service next after the Prayer for the Queen and Royall Progenie.

Eternall God and Mercifull Father, by whom alone Kings reign, thou Lord of hosts and giver of all Victory, we humbly beseech thee both now and ever to guide and preserve our most gracious sovereign Lord King *Charles*: To blesse him in his person with health and safetie, in his counsels with wisdom and prudence and in all his actions with honour and good success: especially against those his Trayterous subjects, who having cast off all obedience to their anointed sovereign, do at this time in Rebellious manner, seek to invade this Realm. Grant, blessed Lord, that Victory may attend his Majesties Designes, that his liege people may rejoyce in Thee, but that shame may cover the faces of thine and his treacherous enemies. Inable him (blessed Father) so to vanquish and subdue them all, that his Loyall subjects being settled in peace and the true fear of thy holy name, He may return with joy and honour and continue to govern his Kingdoms in peace and plenty and in the happinesse of true religion and piety all his dayes. These blessinges and whatsoever else shall be necessary for him, or for ourselves, we humbly beg of thee, O Mercifull Father for Jesus Christ, his sake, our onely Mediatour and Redeemer. Amen.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill 1640.

The Vicar of All Saints, whose religious views would lead him to sympathise with the Presbyterian Scots, declined to use this prayer, as did also his curate, Mr. Holmes. An inquiry was held on September 28th by Dr. Sibthorpe, as to why the King's commands had not been obeyed. The following deposition relating to this matter, is preserved among the State Papers at the Public Record Office.

Sept. 28,
1640.

Examination of Thomas Pidgeon, joyner taken before Robert Sybthorpe Dor of Divinity, one of his Maties Justices of the peace for the county of Northton the 28th day of September Anno Regni Caroli, etc 16^o annoque Dni 1640.

Who being demanded whether dureing his Maties expedicon into the North this present sumer he hath not received any prayer or prayers to be delivered to sundry ministers respectively and particularly to the minister of All S^{ts} Northton to pray for his Maties safetie and good successe ag^t his Rebellious subjects, etc., which was to be read publiqly in time of Divine Service immediatly after the prayer for the Queene and the Royall Progenie; he sayth that he received sundry prayers for severall parishes, in and about Northton, particularly one for the parish of All S^{ts} Northton. But he received them not wth any direcion to deliver them or any of them to the minister of All S^{ts} or any other minister when they were first delivered to him w^{ch} was about a fortnight since, neverthelesse he dispersed the s^d prayers in the severall parishes wthin the respective Deaneries wherein he is apparator some to the minister and some to the churchwardens and particularly he delivered the prayer to be read in the church of All S^{ts} Northton, to Peter Whaley one of the churchwardens there, the same day y^t himselfe received it and findeing that it was not read according to direcion upon the Sunday following he asked ye s^d Whaley What was the reason of such omission and Whaley tolde him in the hearing of Francis Smith a sadler and another of Northton (whose name he remembreth not) that he would answer it, let him take no care for it, neverthelesse this examinant being tolde by Do^r Sybthorpe upon Wedensday last, that he ought to have delivered ye s^d prayer to ye minister himselfe who was to reade ye same, he thereupon did upon Sunday last, immediatly before Morning prayer, tender one of ye said prayers in the parish church of All S^{ts} Northton, to Mr. Holmes, curate there (who did that day read Divine Service there). But the s^d Mr. Holmes refused to receive the same in the presence of . . . Farie the Parish Clerke and Thomas Crutchley and another of the Towne sarjants (whose name he certainly remembreth not) whereupon this examinant did lay down ye s^d prayer upon the surplice and left it there in Mr. Holmes his sight and presence, as he was about to put on the said surplice, yet it was not read in the church of All S^{ts} upon ye s^d Sunday, nor upon any Sunday or other day hitherto for ought he ever heard or beleiveth. And further sayeth that Peter Whaley told him, when he delivered the prayer to him as aforesaid, that this examinant had no authority to deliver the same.

THOMAS [THO:] PIDGEON
His mark.

ROB: SYBTHORPE.

Before further action could be taken against the offending Ball, the famous Long Parliament assembled, November 3rd, 1640, and immediately set itself to undo the work accomplished by Laud. Three days after the opening of Parliament a Grand Committee of Religion was appointed, and one of its first acts was to annul the obnoxious canons drawn up earlier in the year. It was soon found expedient to sub-divide the Committee of Religion into various sub-committees, and in December the "Committee for Scandalous Ministers" was constituted, whose duty it was to inquire into the lives and tenets of the clergy and to deprive those whom they deemed unfit to hold a cure. The term "scandalous minister" included not only those who were guilty of immorality, drunkenness, or neglect of duty, but was

also applied to those who made use of any of the obnoxious ceremonies. "It was scandalous to bow at the sacred name of Jesus, to oblige communicants to come up to the altar rail, or to use Popish prayers, under which designation came the prayer for the Church Militant." As may well be imagined, a large number of clergy were ousted from their livings under one or other of these pleas.

In 1644 every person in England over the age of eighteen was compelled to take an oath to observe the Solemn League and Covenant, and a year later the *Directory for Public Worship* was issued to take the place of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the use of the latter book being made a penal offence.

In June, 1646, Episcopacy was formally abolished, and Presbyterianism became for the time being the national religion. But it was soon found that the Presbyterians were quite as intolerant to those who differed from them as the Episcopalians had been, and at the opening of 1647, there were signs of a growing breach between the Independents, who formed a predominant party in the army, and the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons.

In January, a certain John Palmer, writing from Northampton describes to a friend how the Independent chaplains of Fairfax's army had been intruded into the pulpit of All Saints, Northampton, without the consent and against the express wish of the Presbyterian Vicar. He says:—

There came indeed some gentlemen from the General to him [Thomas Ball, the vicar] to desire Master Saltmarsh might preach; to whom his answer was that for just reasons he could by no means consent; but if the General would command the pulpit, he could not hinder, neither would he make any tumult to disturb him. . . . But I can assure you that Master Saltmarsh did preach usually at alhallowes without the consent of Master Ball. . . . And no other leave had Master Dell who preached the last Lord's day in the morning January 24th in the same church: where he magnified the Army and in a manner deified it in his prayer calling it the Ark of God's strength. And in his sermon on Ephes. 6, 10, among other things, he delivered this, That the power by which Christians must do and suffer all, was the Almighty power of God, the same power that was in Christ; and that all true beleivers may do the same works which Christ did (adding this) when it is the good will and pleasure of God: quoting to this purpose Mark 16, 17, 18, expounding it as a promise made to all beleivers, that they shall shew these signes, namely cast out devils, speak with new tongues, take up serpents and drink deadly things without harme, lay hands on the sick and recover them; (adding) not that they shall do those things as often as they will, but when God will: for

Christ did no miracle at his own will, but at the Father's will. He spake also many other things very doubtfully, which being taken favourably were the same for substance which are ordinarily preached among us; but delivered in such tearmes as were very apt to receive a bad construction among men that look for new light.

The people of Northampton are further described in this pamphlet as "too much Presbyterian to be well spoken of."

Short sketches of the lives of these two men, Saltmarsh and Dell, are here given, as they serve to throw light on the views and aims of the Independent or Anabaptist party of those days.

John Saltmarsh.

John Saltmarsh was educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and graduated there as M.A. He appears first in history as a zealous advocate of Episcopacy and Conformity. He took the "Etcetera oath" in 1640, but towards the close of that year his opinions underwent a great change and he became henceforward a sincere though eccentric champion of religious liberty. He was at this time Rector of Heslerton in Yorkshire, but resigned the living in 1643 owing to scruples as to taking tithe. For a time he seems to have preached in and about Northampton, but in January 1645, he was preferred to the sequestered living of Brasted, Kent. In 1646 he attached himself to the fortunes of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and became an army chaplain. Baxter complains that Saltmarsh and Dell had the ear of the army. Both of them were spiritual writers rather than theologians. Anthony A'Wood tells us that while with the army Saltmarsh "always preached the bonds of love and peace, praying that that might be the cord to unite Christians in unity. He meddled not in the pulpit with Presbytery and Independency, but solely laboured to draw the soul from sin to Christ. Thus he lived among soldiers in time of health: and how his departure was from the army, a little before his death, you shall hear anon. . . . On December 4th, 1647, he being then at his house near to Ilford in Essex, told his wife that he had been in a trance, had seen a vision and received a command from God to go presently to the army, to make known to them what the Lord had revealed to

him, which would be the last work he had to do for them, and taking leave of his wife, he hasted to London that night and declared to Sir Henry Mildmay, a Parliament man, that he was sent by the Lord with a message to the army, to make known some things unto them which God had revealed unto him. The next day being Sunday, he with much ado got a horse, and about 3 of the clock in the afternoon rode toward Windsor, the head-quarter of the army, and about 11 of the clock at night he came to a certain town about seven miles distant from Windsor, where he lay that night and spoke of many wonderful things that the Lord had revealed to him. Before break of day the next morning, being Monday, December 6th, he went towards Windsor, and being there about 9 of the clock, he repaired to the General Council, where some of the officers were met in expectation of the General and the rest to sit in Council: before whom he spoke these words, with his eyes almost fix'd in his head, or rather as if he had come out of a trance with fear and trembling, to express what he had received. 'I am come hither to reveal to you what I have received from God. That though the Lord hath done much for you and by you, yet he hath of late left you and is not in your councils, because you have forsaken Him. . . . I advise all the faithful to depart from you lest they be destroyed with you.' Afterwards he went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general, but did not move his hat to him, saying, 'I have had a command from God not to honour you at all. I have honoured you so much that I have offended God in doting upon your person. God hath revealed unto me that he is highly displeased with your committing of Saints to prison and that he will not prosper you nor can I honour you. After he had parted with the General he went to Cromwell, the lieut.-general, whom he met in the hall at Windsor Castle, and being asked by him how he did, Saltmarsh stirred not his hat, but told him 'The Lord was angry with him for causing those godly men to be imprisoned, slighted, and abused for those engagements which he had formerly owned and the persons such as he knew faithful in the cause of God: That the armies falling off from their former principles, it would be their ruin and destruction, and would raise such factions among themselves as would undo them!' Afterwards

he took leave of the officers, telling them that he had then done his errand and must leave them, never to see the army more. . . . On Saturday, December 11th, 1647, he was taken speechless in the morning, and in the afternoon about 4 or 5 of the clock, he died in great peace and quiet, leaving then the character behind him by some of a bigoted enthusiastical person."

A full account of his predictions is to be found in a pamphlet entitled "Wonderful predictions declared in a Message, as from the Lord to his Excellency, Sir Tho. Fairfax and the Councill of his army. By John Saltmarsh, Preacher of the Gospell: His Severall Speeches and the Manner of his death. Printed by Rob: Ibbitson in Smithfield, near the Queens Head Tavern 1648."*

William Dell,

after taking his degree at Cambridge, began life as secretary to Archbishop Laud. Subsequently, but for what cause does not appear, he abandoned the tenets of the Episcopalian Church and took service under Fairfax as a "preacher of the army" in the campaign of 1645-6. He was the officiating minister at the marriage of General Ireton and Bridget Cromwell, January 15th, 1646.

On June 7th, 1646, he preached before Fairfax and his officers at Marston, a sermon entitled "The building and the Glory of the truly Spiritual and Christian Church." From this sermon, which was afterwards printed, we gather that he aimed at a kind of eclecticism, for he refuses to "allow any such distinction of Christians as Presbyterians and Independents, this being only a distinction of man's making, tending to the division of the church."

On November 25th following, he preached before the House of Commons on Hebrews ix. 10. The sermon was printed under the title "Right Reformation; or, the Reformation of the Church of the New Testament represented in Gospel Light."

On the surrender of Oxford in the same year, Dell,

* For a list of Saltmarsh's numerous writings and for additional details as to his life see *Dictionary of National Biography* and Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii., 571 (edition of 1817).

among others, was sent down there to "convert" the University to the views of the party then in power, and on the morning of the execution of King Charles, he was one of the Puritan Divines who went—as Cole says—"with all solemnity becoming a better cause" to offer their services to the unhappy monarch.

In May, 1649, Dell was appointed by Parliament Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, on the ejection of Dr. Batchcroft. In 1653 he preached at St. Mary's, maintaining that classical learning and university culture are of no value as a means toward the better understanding of Scripture, and declaring that "the gospel of Christ understood according to Aristotle hath begun, continued and perfected the mysterie of iniquity in the outward church." He waxed especially wrath against hoods, caps, scarlet robes, and other academic attire, and declared the granting of degrees in divinity by the university was "a power received from antichrist." He was ejected from Caius College at the Restoration, and two years later (in 1662) was compelled to resign the living of Yelden, Bedfordshire, which he had held in conjunction with the Mastership of Caius. He died in 1664, and was buried at his own request in unconsecrated ground, in a spinney or small coppice on his own estate at "Samshill, in the parish of Westoning, near Harlington."

Calamy describes him as a "very peculiar and unsettled man" and "challenged for three contradictions:—(1) For being against infant baptism and yet he had his own children baptised. (2) For preaching against universities, when he held the leadership of a college. (3) For being against tithes and yet taking £200 per annum from his living of Yelden. To these a fourth may be added—that he gave his parishioners Christian burial and he himself is buried in the fields."*

Daily Service at All Saints.

It is interesting to find that in spite of the troublous times through which the country was then passing, the

* For further particulars see *Dictionary of National Biography*, from which the above account is drawn. Also Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, part ii., p. 100.

ancient custom of having daily prayer in the parish church of All Saints, after having been in abeyance for many years, was reverted to in 1644. In that year, "Morning Prayer on Monday" is casually referred to in the parochial vestry books: and a year later, in April, 1645, the vestry made the following order:—

At this vestrie it is ordered that in regard the Clark and Sexton of this parish are at a great labour and pains in ringing and in attending in all things belonging to their office in respect of prayers in the parish church everie morning shall have a yearlie allowance, that is to say xxx^s to the Clarke and xx^s to the Sexton over and above their ordinarie wages and dues, to be paid by the churchwardens of the parish for the tyme being soe long as morning prayers shall continue."

The daily prayer referred to must have been some form of Presbyterian Exercise, since the use of the Church of England Prayer Book had been made penal by Parliament. The *Directory* which was drawn up to take the place of the Prayer Book, makes no provision for daily services.

The Quakers.

During the incumbency of Simon Ford the successor of Thomas Ball, the congregation of All Saints appears to have been occasionally disturbed by visits from the Quakers. John Mulliner, in a curious tract entitled *A Testimony against Perriwigs and Perriwig-making*,* says:—

"Sometimes I have seen this People [the Quakers] when they have come amongst us, when I was a Hearer of *Simon Ford*, [come] into the very Assemblies, and tho' they have said very little, what Confusion was there among the Teachers and Hearers! And sometimes I have seen them, two or three come into the Assembly at Alhallows with Sack-cloth and ashes upon their Heads bare-foot and bareheaded, which I did at that very time very much strange at. And another time I saw another come into the School, when they were acting their parts in strange Dresses and wished

* *A Testimony against Perriwigs and Perriwig-making and Playing on Instruments of Musick among Christians or any other in the days of the Gospel.* "Being Several Reasons against those things, by one who, for good Conscience sake, hath deny'd and forsaken them, John Mulliner. Printed in the year 1677 and Re-printed in the year 1708." A Tract in the possession of Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton.

them to train up their children *in the fear of the Lord*: and they did lay violently upon him with their Sticks so that I was much troubled to see it."

From a work entitled *An Abstract of the sufferings of the people called Quakers*, we learn the following additional details as to the disturbances caused by the Quakers. In 1655 "Mary Horne was committed to Bridewell by Peter Whaley, Mayor of Northampton, for speaking to a priest in a Steeple-house the words "Give over deceiving the people lest the judgments of the Lord fall upon thee."

The incumbent of the neighbouring parish of Bugbrooke has recorded in his register that "when Margaret Goodwin, widow, was buried May 5th, 1662, the minister, Mr. John Whitfield, was thrown into the grave by a cruell and curst sort of people called Quakers, not without danger of being there buried alive, which he has left upon record to live when he is dead."

It is not generally known but can be most abundantly proved that the early Quakers were animated by a totally different spirit to that which we rightly associate with the "Friends" of this century. George Fox, their founder, and most of their leading members in the seventeenth century, apparently considered it their duty to interrupt congregations at worship after a wild and excited fashion.† It was of little consequence to these men and women whether the worship was after the Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist form. The meeting places of all who were not Quakers were generically styled by them "steeple-houses," and their ministers "priests." It was not until after the Restoration that they had the opportunity of interrupting Episcopalian

† Sometimes the Quakers met more than their match. The following is an amusing instance:—"On a certain occasion at Orton, in Westmoreland, the then vicar, Mr. Fothergill, had, on a particular Sunday, exchanged pulpits with Mr Dalton of Shap, who happened to be possessed of but one eye. However, a Quaker, presumably hatted, stalked into Orton Church during the sermon, and in a loud voice called out to the preacher, 'Come down thou false Fothergill!'

'Who told thee,' asked the minister, 'that my name was Fothergill?'

'The Spirit,' quoth the other.

'Then that spirit of thine is a lying spirit,' exclaimed the minister conclusively, 'for it is well known that I am not Fothergill, but *peed* Dalton of Shap!'"—Leyland's *Yorkshire Coast*, 1892; Andrews' *Old Church Life*, 1900.

worship, and the noisiest period of Quaker history was between 1650 (the time of their origin) and 1660.

George Fox's first trouble arose from his interrupting Presbyterian congregations both at Mansfield and Derby in 1650. John Gratton, a celebrated Derbyshire Quaker, was not content with making many disturbances in churches after the Restoration, but was impartial enough to visit after a like fashion the semi-secret services of the non-conformists of the county, who could obtain no legal redress.†

No one with modern ideas of religious toleration can possibly justify the very harsh treatment of the Quakers under the Commonwealth, but it must in fairness be remembered that their conduct was most exasperating and naturally conducive to reprisals.

Bishop Cartwright at All Saints. 1687.

Frequent allusions have been made in the earlier part of this chapter to the reluctance of the parishioners of All Saints to receive the Blessed Sacrament at the altar rails. Extracts from the diary of Bishop Cartwright of Chester show that even as late as 1687 a certain number still entertained scruples on the subject.

1687. April 3.

I preached and administered the Sacrament at Allhallows in Northampton where they all came up upon my invitation to the altar, who had never done it before, except Mr. Cockeram and Mr. Clarke the former of whom spoke more than became him and refused to come up and take satisfaction to his scruple, clapped on his hat and went out; God forgive him and bring him into the way of truth. After evening sermon we were treated at Mr. Lovell's and returned to supper, where we met Mr. King the curate and other friends. After dinner, Mr. Mayor and his brethren brought me up a dozen bottles of wine and returned me thanks for my sermon and condemned the rudeness and factiousness of Cockeram and Clarke and desired it might not be imputed to the prejudice of the Corporation, who were and always would be ready to conform to all to which the Doctor should invite them."

April 10th.

Gave an account to the Bishop of Peterborough of the Sacrament which I delivered at Northampton the Sunday before and received his thanks for bringing them up to the altar.

† See Cox's *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*. i. 338—347.



CHAPTER XI.

ALL SAINTS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

IN the two preceding chapters, it has been thought well to group together purely religious questions, especially those affected by the great Puritan movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this chapter, subjects of a more secular nature, relating to these two centuries, will be considered.

The Plague.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Northampton was thrice visited by the plague, viz., in 1578, 1603-5, and 1638. The first outbreak seems to have occurred in October, 1578.

On October 13th, the Assembly ordered that all infected houses were to be shut up, and that placards with the words "Lord have mercye upon us" should be "sett upon the door . . . and the wrytynge to contynewe upon ther dores by the space of xx^{tie} dayes

after any dye." Three purveyors were appointed to buy food for those confined in the plague-stricken houses, and the cost was met by an assessment "to begynne the seconde day of November next comeinge and so monethelye untyll yt please God that the toune be cleane of the sickenes."

The death rate in All Saints parish rose from 47 to 134 in 1578.

On the accession of James I., a terrible outbreak of the plague took place in London, of which 30,578 persons are said to have died. The epidemic reached Northampton in September, as is shewn by an order of Assembly dated September 26th:—

Whereas y^t y^s feared that diverse howses within this towne are infected with the plague, for the preventing of anie further infection within the saide towne than the saide houses (yf yt soe please God), It is ordered that all howses suspected to be infected shalbe shut up, and the persons therein kept in, and that there shalbe assessed of thinhabitants of habilitie, for the keeping of suche as are not of abilitie to keep themselves, and for the payeing of watchmen vewers and making other necessarie provision in that behalf the sume of Twentie markes of good and lawfull money of England for one monethes provision, to beginne and be accompted from the foure and twentieth daye of this instant moneth of September.

The first entry in the parish registers of All Saints in which the plague is specifically mentioned, is dated October 10th, when it is recorded that "Mary filia Johis Bennett sepult fuit x^o die e peste." In the margin the word "Plague" is also written. After this the words "plage" or "e peste" frequently occur. A summary of the burial entries for some months serve to show the progress of the disease as far, at least, as the parish of All Saints was concerned. The deaths in October, 1603 were 15 (7 of plague); in November, 13 (7 of plague); in December 6 (4 of plague); in January, 1603-4, 14 (1 of plague); February 9 (2 of plague); May, 21 (13 of plague). In June the epidemic seems to have died out, three deaths from natural causes being alone recorded.

In May, 1605, the dreaded sickness once more re-appeared in Northampton, and the death rate in All Saints parish in that month rose to 25. In June, 18 deaths are recorded; in July, 35; in August, 39; in September, 84; and in October, 91.

On October 11th, the Assembly ordered that anyone who shall "goe abroade or converse in companye" from an infected house shall be "punished as a vagabond in

all respects should or ought to be by the statute made in the xxxixth yere of the Reigne of our late soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth for the punishment of Roagues and vagabondes, and further to be bounde to his good behaviour for one whole year.”*

From this time the mortality gradually decreased. The deaths from all causes in All Saints parish dropping to 37 in November, 22 in December, 18 in January, and 16 in February.

In 1638 the dreaded enemy once more made its appearance. It seems to have begun at the end of March, for under March 29 the following entry occurs in the burial register of St. Sepulchre’s:—“Att which time the sickness beegan.” It had run its course by the end of the year, for on January 1st the same register records:—“At which time the Lord bee praised the sickness ceased.”

From Freeman’s *History of Northampton* we learn that “Between the 25th of March and September, 533 persons died in this town of the plague. During this period the market was held on the heath (the upper part of the race-ground), to which none of the inhabitants were permitted to go, without a certificate from the Mayor.”

In the parish of All Saints the epidemic was most severe in July, when fifty-eight burials were recorded. Only in two instances is the day of the month stated, and in a large number of cases the Christian name of the deceased is omitted.

From the Lee MSS. we learn that “There dyed soe many in All S^{ts} parish yt one Malyn, ye under sexton working hard one day and in ye evening to make graves being asked why he worked so late, replied he was resolved to dig enough to serve ye next day, and he himself was buried in one of them.”†

In August forty deaths are recorded, but by that time the epidemic had spent its force and began to die out. Twenty-one deaths are chronicled in September, and in October only ten.‡

* A full account of all the Northampton plague epidemics will be found in the Northampton Borough Records. ii., 223—239.

† “July—Malyns sepult fuit” is the way his burial is recorded in the parish register. No date is given.

‡ The Churchwardens’ accounts of the neighbouring parish of St. Giles’ furnish us with the following interesting particulars as to the dis-

In 1647 a fourth outbreak of the plague took place, but little of interest can be gleaned concerning it from the parochial books.

The Peasant Revolt of 1607.

The enclosure of the commons and open grounds at the beginning of the seventeenth century, led to a serious revolt of the peasantry in Northamptonshire and other Midland counties in 1607. Northampton was the principal rallying point of the rebels, who were under the leadership of a certain "Captain Pouch" so called from a bag or pouch which he wore, which was supposed to contain a charm or talisman which ensured success. For a time the rioters carried on their depredations unchecked, demolishing park railings and fences on all sides. Eventually, however, the gentry armed their retainers and servants, and the revolt was suppressed without much difficulty. When the leader was captured, his pouch was examined by the curious soldiery, but it was found to contain nothing save a piece of green cheese!

In June, 1607, a sermon on the subject was preached in the church of All Saints, before the Lord Lieutenant of the county and others. A copy is still preserved in the British Museum. The title page runs as follows:—

A Sermon preached at North Hampton the 21 of June last past, before the Lord Lieutenant of the county and the rest of the Commissioners there assembled, upon occasion of the late Rebellion and Riots in those parts committed.

Prov. 22, 2.—The rich and the poore meete together, the Lord is the maker of them all.

Printed at London for John Flacket, 1607.

It is a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, and contains a dedication to the Earl of Exeter, the Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, signed by the preacher—"your Honor's late chaplaine and still devoted in all Christian

infecting of that church in 1638:—

Item to John Carr's wife for washinge and aringe the	s.	d.
carpett and cerplis when Thomas Adkins first fell		
sick of the plauge	1	0
Item to John Carr's wife in the same case for aringe		
the church bookes	0	6
Item for pich tarre and roszen to perfume and are the		
church at the sickness time	2	0

duty.—Rob. Wilkinson.” The text is from St. Matthew x. 4. By far the greater part of the sermon has no reference whatever to rebellion in general or in particular, but is chiefly directed with some ingenuity against Roman Catholic tenets. But towards the end the preacher becomes more explicit, and talks of the Thistle that is in Lebanon coming to the Cedar that is in Lebanon, and the horrible idea of a king of three great kingdoms holding discussion with a tinker. He describes the outbreak as a mutiny sudden and violent, and by many degrees exceeding in fire the comparatively mild outbreaks of the “Pasturemen.” He styles it a creeping conspiracy, beginning in the night. “First like Adam’s sonnes they come forth with shovels and spades like simple men, to reduce the earth to her ancient and native tillage, but afterwards they come forthe like Tubal-Kain’s sonnes armed with swordes and weapons of yron; and they turned not, as Micah saith, their swords into spades, but cleane contrary, spades into swords. First they professe nothing but to throwe downe enclosures, though that were indeed no part of comon powre; but afterwards they will reckon for other matters, they will accompt with Clergiemen, and counsell is given to kill up Gentlemen, and they will levell all states as they levelled banks and ditches.”

The Civil War.

On the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, between Charles I. and the Parliament, Northampton was garrisoned for the latter under Lord Brooke. From September of that year the parish registers of All Saints contain numerous entries relating to the burial of soldiers who fell in that unhappy strife. The earliest is that of Henry Cosby, soldier, who was buried on September 18th. On January 29th, 1642-3, the burial of Mr. Nicholas Perry, Lieutenant, is recorded.

In 1642, for the better protection of the town, it was enacted that “everie housholder that is taxed to the poore, shall from hensfourth everie dark winter evening, hang out a lanthorne with a candle alighted in it, from fyve of the clocke untill nyne of the clocke for the lighting of passingers to and fro the stretes, except suche evenings wherein the moone shyneth.”

In order that the householders might know the hour when they were to set up their lanthorns, the bellman was ordered to toll the great bell of All Saints every dark evening at five o'clock. The penalty for neglect was twopence, which went to the bellman.

On November 15th, 1642, and in May, 1643, orders were made for the reparation of the fortifications of the town, which was in constant danger of attack by the Royalists. On June 10th, a still more stringent order was issued. It was therein provided that every householder of the Chequer ward was to come himself, or provide an able substitute, with sufficient tools to work at the fortifications every Thursday; every householder of the South ward every Friday; every householder in the East ward every Monday; every householder in the North ward every Tuesday, and every householder in the West Ward every Wednesday. The householders of each ward on their respective days, were to assemble at the Market Cross "at the knowling of y^e great bell of All Sts. at seaven of y^e clocke in y^e morning, and soe from there to goe to work and there continue till eleaven of the clock; and to come again in the afternoone at the knowling of the bell and continue at work so long as the overseers of the work shall thinke good, upon paine of everie householder making default to forfeit xij^d. a day for everie day omission to the use of the Corporacon."

The wisdom of these precautions is shewn from the fact that four months later an attack was made upon the town by the Cavaliers under Prince Rupert. Marching from Holdenby on October 15th, they attacked the town at midnight and their reception is thus described by an eye witness in the Parliamentary army:—"We had first sent out a commanded party of 24 horse to give them an Alarum, who met their scouts at Brampton bridge, about two miles and half off the town, kil'd one of their men, and had one of ours wounded in the arme, who all retreated to Kingsthorpe to our body of horse within a mile of the towne: but suddenly their whole body of Horse or a great part of them came up to ours, who skirmishing retreated and we, closely followed to the walls of the town and calling to be let in at the North-gate, could not be admitted untill first a volley of shot from the walls had removed the enemy back to Walbacke about twice musket shot from the walls, where

their horse made a stand about an houre, their foot in the interim being drawne up neare St. Andrew's Mill, about musket-shot from Our Great Mount whence our canoneer let flie a piece at their Horse, and presently another from the North Mount and killed two of them, which soone removed their body, the Foote marching under the favour of the hill without any hurt, and so marched away by Moulton-parke to Billing-bridge, all this by the light of the Moone which shone clearly. As soone as it was day our horse marched out againe, and tooke many of their straglers, about 40 in all most horse-men and some very good lare horses, they marched to Castle Ashby that day betimes, and the next day to Oulney."

As a result probably of this skirmish, we find that five soldiers were buried at St. Sepulchre's about this time. At All Saints, four others were interred, "Mr. Thomas Medham, Lieutenant," on October 26th; "a Lieutenant and a Corporall" on November 11th; and on the same day "a trooper from Widow Gibson's."

The All Saints parish registers further record among others the burial of "Sergeant Hawkes" on December 3rd, 1643; "George Tomson a troper" September 20th, 1644; "— the wife of Capt. Tomkins," October 24th; "from the dolphin a trooper unknone" October 26th; "Richard Cox, dromer" February 27th, 1644-5; "Capitaine Ludiut" March 22nd.

On June 14th the decisive battle of Naseby was fought, in which the forces of the Parliament were completely victorious. The prisoners taken in the battle were brought to Northampton on the following day and lodged in All Saints and the other churches of the town. On the 16th they all marched for London. Many of the combatants who succumbed to their wounds, were buried at All Saints. Among others "A cornett from Abram Mainard" and "Captain Bush" on June 16th; Captain Potter on June 28th, and Captain Cooke on June 29th. The All Saints Parish Register further records that this month "thirty comon soldiers" were buried. In the following month Cornet David, "a soldier from the Swan" "a clarke of the Band" and "a soldier from Will. Lanes" were also here interred.

Captains Potter and Cooke were men of considerable note. Captain Potter was "one of the commissioners

of Parliament residing in the army"; while Captain Cooke was "Commissary General of Horse Provisions" for the Parliamentary forces. Both are alluded to in a letter from Thomas Herbert (one of the other Parliamentary Commissioners) to Mr. Speaker Lenthall. "Captain Potter is dangerously wounded but [there are] hopes of his recovery; so is Captain Cooke." The two entries in the register of All Saints prove that these hopes were not realised. Captain Bush also fought on the Parliamentary side. He was an officer in Cromwell's own regiment of Horse: they were commanded at Naseby by Major Huntingdon, and seem to have fought on the left wing under Ireton and not under their old colonel. Captain Bush is described in the Army List of 1647 as "slain at Naseby."

Later entries in the parish registers of the various churches of Northampton show that the town still continued to be garrisoned by the military.

Captain Cautut was buried at All Saints on February 6th, 1645-6; "a souldier under Corronell Prids Regement" on September 25th, 1651; and "Mr. James Davison, Trumpiter" on January 5th, 1651-2.

The Levellers.

An entry in the parish register under May 21st, 1649, recording the burial of Captain William Thompson in the churchyard, serves to connect the church of All Saints with the ill-starred rising of the "Levellers."

The heart and soul of the movement, if not its actual originator, was a certain John Lilburne, who advocated "direct government by a democratic Parliament and the fullest development of individual liberty."* He was not—as is sometimes asserted—a socialist, for he strongly repudiated the idea that he had any desire for the "equalling of men's estates and taking away of the proper right and title that every man has to what is his own." He was, however, bitterly opposed to the domination of the country by the army, and had the greatest distrust of Cromwell, whom he suspected of aiming at military despotism.

He published several pamphlets for the furtherance of

* Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, chap. ii.

his views, which so incensed the leading officers of the army, that they determined to arrest him. On March 28th 1649, he was taken into custody and eventually lodged in the Tower. A few weeks later his followers broke out into open revolt, first at Banbury and a few days later at Salisbury. The Salisbury mutineers, 600 in number, marched northwards, enlisting a certain number of recruits on the way. Fairfax and Cromwell followed by forced marches, and coming up with them as they lay in fancied security at Burford, attacked them at midnight, and took the majority of them prisoners.

The outbreak at Banbury was not of so serious a nature. It was instigated by one William Thompson, who had formerly been a corporal, but had been dismissed his regiment for taking part in a tavern brawl. He was afterwards sentenced to death for inciting his former comrades to mutiny, but was eventually pardoned by Fairfax. In May, 1649, he issued a manifesto entitled *England's Standard Advanced*, and on the 6th a certain number of troopers mutinied. The rising was, however, promptly suppressed by Colonel Reynolds, and Thompson was glad to escape with twenty followers.

The *Exact Dyarie No. 17* states under date Thursday, May 17th, that news had come that day from headquarters "that a party of the Levellers are gone to seek out Thompson to joyn with him, he being gone towards Rockingham Castle in Northamptonshire with about eighteen horse." Thompson was evidently rapid in his movements, for the same paper states under Taunton, May 16th, that the Levellers, of whom there were many in that district, were exceedingly disheartened and that "when Thompson would have joyned with them they had detained him prisoner if he had not made an escape, saying they would not have to do with such a fellow as he is."

Thompson eventually made his way to Northampton and an interesting account of his proceedings is given in the Lee Manuscript at the Bodleian Library:—

In y^e year of our Lord 1648 [1649], Mr. Thos. Pendleton, mayor, there were a number of Levellers came to Northton headed by one Thompson as their Captaine: he went to y^e Goale and sett at liberty 3 y^t were comitted for raisinge tumults: he listed severall under him and went to Mr. Gyfford's y^t kept y^e excise office att his house and took y^e money they had receivid and threw part of it yn y^e streets among y^e poor. He also de-

manded the keys of all ye places where was arms and amunition and he did w^t he pleased, noe body offering to resist him. He and his company went near Sywell, but some troops of horse y^t came from Oxfordshire followed him and found him in ye woods. He fought 3 hours with 5 or 6 men together and wounded severall and was wounded himselve shott in ye body and fought still, but escaped into ye woods and got moss to stuff his wounds to keep them from bleeding. At last one came with a blunderbuss and shott him in the back wth 5 bullets and then he fell of his horse and dyed. Then they laid him on a horse before one and brought him to this town of Northton it being Saturday the Markett day and carryed him about ye markt to show him to ye people. The next day being the Sabbath they buryed him in ye churchyard of All S^{ts}. He had the name of being a very stout man. All his company were taken prisoners. The troops that came to suppress him were for some time quartered here in Northton upon free quarter and were a very great charge to ye town.*

The *Impartiall Intelligencer* No. 12, under date of May 20th, gives an account of Thompson's death in the wood very similar to that of Mr. Lee. The chief variant in this narrative is that the unhappy man received seven bullets in his back. Other accounts of this fray in the wood are to be found in the *Perfect Weekly Account*, No. 16, and the *Kingdomes Faithfull Scout*, No. 17, and *The Everie Daie Journall*, No. 18, and *A Perfect Summary of An Exact Dyarie*, No. 19.

The *Perfect Diurnall* (Nos. 303 & 304) gives the following additional particulars:—

The Headquarters at Oxford,

May 19th, 1649

News since came that Thompson the chiefe Leader hath possessed Northampton with two Troops of Horse and since their comming thither many (called Levellers) from the countrey are come to them. They have seized the Ordnance, Magazine and Monies there, yet for all you may heare they will be catcht in a net.

Beginning Munday May 21st, 1649.

This day a Letter was read in the House from his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, of the surprizing a party of Horse under command of Thompson chiefe leader of those called Levellers, who as we told you in the last with a small party not above 15 horse had surprized Northampton and the manner of his being slain in the wood neere Wellingborough, the particulars briefly thus: Major Butler of Col. Reynolds's Regiment being sent with a party of select horse to fall into Thompson's quarters he being gone from Northampton to a place called Wellingborough, where all his party were surprized, but Thompson escaped into a Wood, of which having intelligence we pursued him and beset the Wood and sent a party into the Wood, where they found Thompson well mounted, who, being alone, yet rid up to our party and desperately shot a Cornet and wounded another, and retreated to his bush, receiving two shots: when they began again to

* Lee MS. (Bodleian Library) f. 105.

draw neer unto him he charged again with his Pistol and received another shot and retreated; the third time he came up (for he said he scorned to take quarter) Major Butler's Corporall with a carbine charged with seven bullets gave Thompson his death's wound. The Lieutenant of the Oxfordshire Troop who joynd Thompson, is likewise taken, who it seemeth seized on the Magazine of Northampton and the Excise Money.

The house hereupon ordered that the Commissioners of the Great Seale of England be required to issue out Commissions of Oyer and Terminer under the Great Seale into the counties of Oxon and Northampton for trying such persons as are in prison in Oxon and Northampton being taken in arms against the Commonwealth in the last Rebellion and that the Lords Commissioners to consider of and appoint fit persons to be Commissioners therein.

—

Thursday, May 22nd, 1649.

By a particular Express from Northampton this day is thus certified:—

SIR,—Our Town hath been this week the scene of news. Thompson, the declaration maker, with some dozen in his company stole into this town late on Wednesday night and on Thursday morning at sermon time went to the Goale and demanded his friends there imprisoned, threatning death to any that should oppose, the Jaylor himselfe not being within and the under-jaylor not daring to oppose, he took them out, but no more, and then rode with his company up and down the town to all the gates and gave out that 700 men were to be quartered here that night, and that they would deliver the nation from oppression of all sorts, and so went to see the Ordnance and Ammunition, and took the keys into their owne hands, and then went to the Market Crosse and read his declaration, and made a speech to those that came about him, that he would free them from excise, free quarter, taxes, and tithes, and exhorted all men to assist him in so good a work; and then went to the excise office and took all the money he there found and gave much to the poor people that flockt about him and prayd for him. After that he enquired for drums and fetched them where he found them, and beat them all about the town, and a Serjeant made proclamation that those who would list themselves should be well entertained. Then he went to the Mayor and demanded the Keys of the Town Hall, because he heard there were Arms and Ammunition there, but was answered that it was the Towns and should not be at his disposal. Next morning he and all his Company came to the Mayor and demanded the Keys again, but were denied as before. All this while nobody stird. I being engaged because it was Lecture day, was not informed of any thing, but Friday noon I went to Mr. Mayor to satisfie myselfe how this impudence of a few men could be so swallowed in this Town, that was not wont to carry coals so patiently? He told me he had summoned his brethren and very few came and those devided in their judgments what to do told him, he spake well and they believed had a great party, for not onely the old Malignants and rabble of poore people would be for him, but all Sectaries in Town and Countrey, because he promises to pull down Tithes and Ministers; that we had no horse to oppose theirs, and they would quell our foot as soon as any preparation should be made or arms put into their hands; neither knew we whom to trust, all men were so unsatisfied, and taken with his grounds that it was lawfull to repell force with force; and if they should engage and get the worst, the Town would be destroyed; that he had sent to Sir Gilbert Pickering and divers of the Committee, and had no encouragement to meddle, but was perswaded that it was best to let them take their course so long as they were neither insolent or injurious unto any, but very civill, and payd for what they took; and that he was certainly enformed the Generall had utterly defeated those at Burford, and

was upon his march this way, and would finde these men carelesse. I told him it would be no thank to us if it were wholly done without us, and that we might inform the Generall privately, and see what answer we should have. As we were talking, one brought word that his new listed men were marching out of the town much afraid, and had set scouts on all the passes toward Oxford, where it was believed the Generall was. Yet they were perswaded to write presently to the Generall how things were, and because it should not be discoverd, one of the Aldermen being a Physician put the Letter in the bottom of a Box with Pils, and directed them to one in Witney whom he knew. Thompson himselfe made no haste to go out of the Town until the evening, and then went not above six miles to Walgrave, where he and his company being about 21 foot and nine or ten horse quartered; and were so confident (because they found so little opposition at Northampton) that the Generalls Forlorn hope was with them in the morning before they stird out of their quarters; he was on horseback himselfe and might have escaped, but had engaged overnight not to desert his foot, and so stirred not but stayd their coming, and chargd three severall times himselfe, and went off gallantly and led them thus some three miles, but being shot and bleeding, leapt into a wood with his horse and routed those that first pursued him on horseback, and being offered quarter, told them he scorned it, but one of Major Butler's Troop left his horse having a good Carbine waylaied him in the bushes where he heard him comming, and having a fair mark shot him with a brace of Bullets so that he began to stagger, and the fellow to make sure gave him a good blow with the end of his carbine and feld him, and so died William Thompson, and was brought Saturday night into this Town. There was but one slain, not outright, but dead by this time. Poore Northampton for their want of valour punished with the free quarter of about 800 horse and men, and left to be censured as please men. I liked not their politicke cowardlinesse, because I thought it might invite more of that kind, the Lord helpe this poor kingdom, there is no trusting these men, they made many believe that severall commanders of note would presently be with them with a Great Brigade of horse.

Mrs. Thompson, hearing of her husband's death, being great with child and near her time, fell in labour and both she and her child are dead."

From the tone of this letter it seems fairly certain that the writer was the Vicar of All Saints—Thomas Ball.

With Thompson's death on May 17th, the rising of the Levellers came practically to an end, though there were one or two other abortive risings in the Isle of Wight and other places in the south on May 20th.

Burial of Peter Whalley.

On June 8th, 1656, died Peter Whalley one of the most influential citizens of Northampton in the troublous times of the Civil War. His name is frequently mentioned in contemporary documents. On the dissolution of the Long Parliament, Peter Whalley was elected (June 6th, 1654) member for Northampton "to serve in the Parliament to bee held at Westminster the third day

of September next." He was one of the chamberlains of Northampton, 1640-2, and served as mayor in 1647 and again in 1656. He died during his second mayoralty and was buried at All Saints. His death is thus recorded in Hall's MS.*:—"This Mayor upon the Easter Tuesday, being the 8th day of April, died at Pilkington in Northamptonshire at Mr. Valentine Acton's house, whose death was very much lamented both by Town and Country by reason of his public spirit who spent his whole endeavours to settle peace amongst his neighbours and to do good to the whole Town by maintaining their priviledges to the utmost, and also did strive to advance the publick stock with many other good deeds which will be a Monument to his Memory to the end of his Days. He was buried upon the 10 of April† with great Solemnity and Dr. Reynolds‡ preached his funeral Sermon out of 1st Phillippians and 21st verse "For to me to live is Christ and to dye is gain."

A copy of this interesting sermon is in the possession of Mr. Crick, of Northampton. The title page reads as follows :—

Deaths Advantage
opened in a
Sermon
preached
The last summer at Northampton
at the
Funeral
of
Peter Whalley, Esq :
Then Mayor of the said Town.
and now upon the earnest desires of his Friends
published by Edward Reynolds, D.D.

London
Printed by Tho. Newcomb for George Tomeson and
are to be sold at his shop at the Rose and
Crown in Pauls Churchyard 1657.

At the end of Dr. Reynolds' sermon are several sets of verses (evidently by different authors) in eulogy of

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 496.

† The parish register of All Saints, records his burial on the 12th and not on the 10th. The entry is as follows:—"April, 1656. Peter Whaley, Maior, was buried 12th day."

‡ Dr. Reynolds had been vicar of All Saints from January, 1627-8 to the autumn of 1629, when he resigned. He was afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

the late Peter Whalley. The following are worth repeating :—

UPON HIS INTERRING IN THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS NORTHAMPTON.

But say where shall this sacred dust
Lie till the raising of the Just ?
This close lodg'd Guest where shall he be
But for this world's eternity ?
What structure's this ? To whom related ?
Fame tels to Saints 'twas dedicated ;
If All Saints here a part should have,
St. Peter then may claim a Grave :
'Tis not that Apostolike he
Lies here, yet Peter 'tis you see,
And Saint he was sincerely true
Saint Peter then may be his due ;
What ere he was, one part you see
Here wrapped up in Mortality.
His better part to God is gone
His Warfare's finisht, work is done.
Blest Soul adieu, our loss's thy gain
Thy pleasures full, while we in pain :
Impartial Fame shall dresse thy story
Thy Name lives here, thy soul in glory.

Parliamentary Election in All Saints Church, 1660.

Four years after the burial of Peter Whalley, the church of All Saints witnessed a very different scene—a contested Parliamentary election. Lee, in his MS. account of the town, says :—“ 1660. Att an election of Burgesses for this town of Northton there stood Sr John Norwich, Sr John Barnard, Mr Sergeant Rainsford, Sr James Langham, and Mr Francis Harvey ye Recorder. Sr James Langham and Mr Francis Harvey by ye votes carried ye electon and by Indentures were returned and satt for a tyme. But Sr John Norwich apprehending yt he was not kindly used made his appeal to ye parliamt setting forth that ye eleccion was in the chancell of all hallows church, wch indeed was by reason of ye great rain that fell yt day ye poll could not be taken at ye Markett Cross. And yt ye Mayr had not soe much kindness for him as he had and showed to Sr James Langham and Mr Francis Harvey. The comittee of priviledges ordered the eleccion to be void and ordered the Mayr to be comitted into the custody of the Sergt at arms where he lay some time till he was forst to petition ye parliamt and

to be down upon his knees in the Parliamt^t house before he had his liberty. And y^e eleccion of Burgesses was then orderd to be made in this Town by y^e freemen and inhabitants of y^e town and has continued a popular eleccion ever since.”*

Duke Cosmo's Visit.

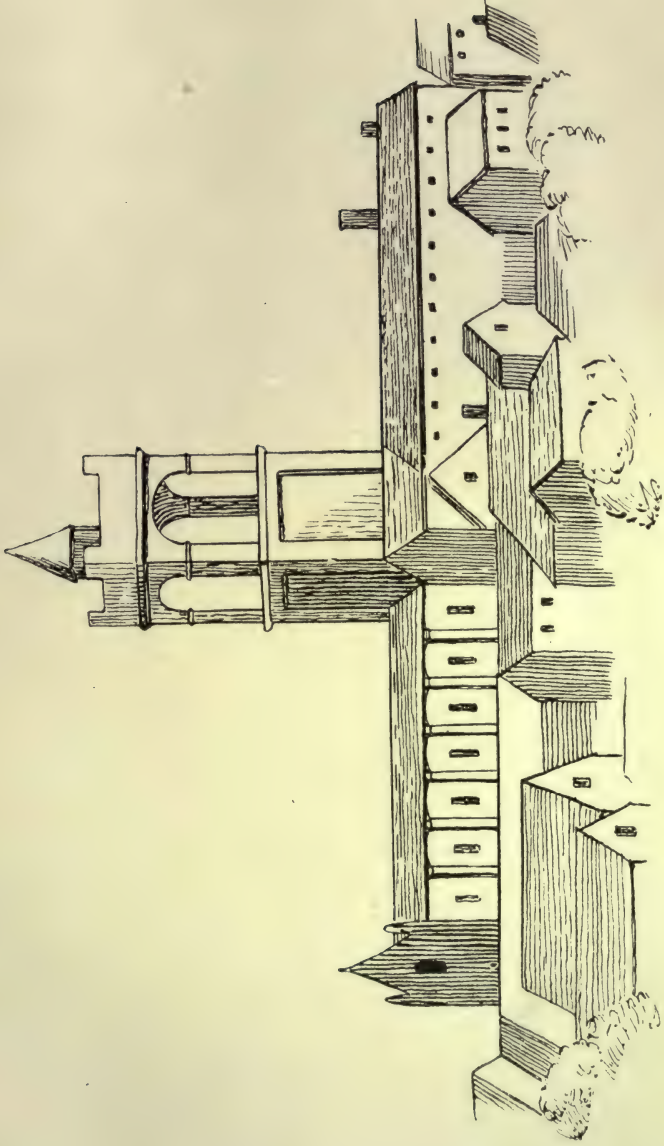
In 1669 the church of All Saints was visited by Duke Cosmo III. of Tuscany, who was touring through England, and visiting the special places of interest. His visit to Northampton is thus described†:—

“His Highness alighted at the Inn of St. George, situated near the belfry of the principal church [All Saints]. On the arrival of his Highness the bells were immediately rung as a mark of joy, and being well-tuned the sound of them was very agreeable; but the ringing being continued a great part of the night, they proved a great interruption to sleep. The Mayor and Aldermen, with whom the civil government rests, came to pay their respects to his Highness, who made use of the same formalities towards them as had been adopted in other places. His Highness walked through Northampton, which both in the structure and elegance of its buildings is not inferior to the other towns of the kingdom. He went to see the church [All Saints] close to his lodgings, which was formerly dedicated to St. Andrew, but now profaned by the exercise of the Anglican religion. It was intended by Simon de St. Liz, first Earl of Northampton, for the place of his burial, having been built by him along with the castle which stands at the western side of the city.”

It will be noticed that Duke Cosmo confuses the church of All Saints with the ancient Priory church of St. Andrew, destroyed in the preceding century. The accompanying sketch, drawn by Mr. C. A. Markham, from a picture by one of the artists who accompanied the Duke, is particularly interesting as being practically the only view extant of the old church of All Saints.

* Lee MSS. ff. 111 and 112.

† Travels of Cosmo III. Duke of Tuscany. Translated from the Italian MS. in the Laurentian Library at Florence, 1821.



THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS IN 1669. (From Duke Cosmo's Travels).

The Fire.

In 1675 Northampton was overtaken by one of those appalling calamities which (owing to the fact that the houses were built chiefly of wood) not unfrequently befel mediæval cities. On September 20th the town was almost entirely destroyed by fire. Various contemporary accounts of this sad catastrophe have been from time to time printed, and are probably familiar to most readers. The following graphic narrative, however, given by Mr. Lee, who was Town Clerk of Northampton at the time of the fire, is not so well known.

“In ye yr of our L^d. 1675 M^r Jonathan Whiston May^r upon ye 20th day of September ab^t 12 of the clock in ye day time, happened a most dreadfull fire in this Town of Northton, w^{ch} in halfe a day burnt down greatest part of ye Town especially the body of ye Town the chiefe part and ye Church of All Saints, ye principall church of ye Town. It did begin in ye Lane at ye upper end of St. Mary’s Street, over agst the Castle, by a poor womans carrying a few live coales in a fire shovell from her neighbours house to her own in ye lane to warme her dinner. Ye wind being very high and strong, blew some of ye coles upon the thatch of her house, which took fire Immediately, and by ye wind was carried from place to place through ye whole towne untill it came near St Gyles Church and ye East Gate in a very short time and spread as it run, firing houses all along. The wind was very strong to blow ye fire on but it was God who blew ye bellows.

“James Earl of Northton and Recorder of Northton being then at his seat at Castle Ashby and told of ye violent force of ye fire ye flames being seen as far as his house made speedy hast and came to this Town and went to Mr. Fleetwoods house and staide till night to see how farr the fire prevailed and ye next morning came againe and sent to many gentlemen of this county who mett him and went to ye Town hall w^{ch} was preserved, only ye staircase on ye outside ye hall and ye hall doore burnt. At w^{ch} place they mett often and upon advice together order’d me to make a Subscription Roll and they sett their hands wth the sumes of money they intended to give to the present releife of ye poor sufferers by the fire and towards the rebuilding of ye Town w^{ch}

they did performe in a plentifull manner. My L^d subscribed £100 towards building the Town and church and £20 to the present reliefe of y^e poor sufferers, and many contributed largely as appears by y^e Table of Benefactors w^{ch} I drew and caused to be put into a frame and hung up at y^e bottom of All Saints Church wth guifts in the s^d table and money collected in England and Ireland by breifes* did amount to y^e sume of about ffive and twenty thousand pounds. King Charles Royall bounty was very great a 1000 Tunn of timber out of his fforest of Whittlewood and Salcey and 7 y^{rs} chimney money collected in y^e town of Northton. There was an act of parliamt^t procured for the building of y^e Town of Northton and wth much expedition by y^e s^d Earl of Northton who understanding y^e King was comeing to y^e house of Lords to prorouge y^e parliamt^t for a considerable time and was in y^e wth drawing room in his robes went immediately to y^e King and beg'd y^e favour of him to stay awhile there before he came into y^e House of L^{ds} and y^e King was pleased to say to My L^d, My L^d I doe much wonder you should be soe kind to y^e town of Northton w^{ch} in y^e timē of y^e warrs were soe unkind to my L^d of Northton yo^r father and my L^d sayd to y^e King if it may please your Maj^{tie} I forgive them and y^e King sayd My L^d If you forgive them I shall doe the same and yn My L^d went to y^e House of L^{ds} waiteing upon y^e King and y^e act being read and consented unto by y^e house the King signed it."†

A few additional details may be drawn from the account of the fire written by a country minister on November 5th, and printed a few days later:—

“ *The time of day.* The fire brake out about half an hour past eleven, came on directly to the back part of the horse market, strengthening itself with ricks of corn and maltings, it spread out its wings to the south and lower end of that market. The hideous cry of ‘Fire! Fire!’ came up post to Town; but when some heard it was so far off, and in meaner Dwellings, they made the lighter of it, and other hoped it might spend itself and

* A copy of this interesting brief is in the possession of Mr. Stewart Beattie of Northampton.

† Lee MSS. f. 121.

go out in a large cherry ground and other orchards in the way.

“All-hallows bells jangled their last and doleful knell presently after the chimes had gone twelve in a more pleasant tune. And soon after the wind which did flie swifter than horsemen, carried the fire near the Dern-



DR. DANVERS' HOUSE, 16TH CENTURY (SEE PAGE 164).

gate, at least half a mile from the place where it began, and into St. Giles' Street in the East: and consumed every house therein save one (formerly a gate house) whose end walls were higher than the Roof, and by them preserved. When some that were strong and active saw the streams of fire driven before an impetuous wind, seeing that nothing was like to stand before it,

they made all haste to shift for themselves and to save their goods. All hands and arms were full, all busy in laying out and mislaying, what they shall never see again. Some active men did labour all they could to save some houses, but what could be done in such a sudden surprise? when so many places were on fire at once, and so many timber buildings were as fuel dried and laid in for this dreadful fire. . . . The spacious market-hill was covered with all sorts of wares and goods; these the affrighted owners were forced to leave one among another, when they were enclosed with a wall of fire, and only one little door of escape left them to run out at, by Dr. Danvers' house, the only house that stands in all that row, having no neighbour-dwelling to bear it company, nor out offices to serve its necessities, they being burnt and itself hardly preserved."

Commenting on the causes of the fire, the writer says:—

"God hath diminished two other parishes (St. Peter's—is it not a little one?—is spared entire). There was iniquity in those skirts. But why God should stretch out his Hand with a flaming sword over All-Hallows more than others I can give no other reason but that of the Prophet. You have I known of all the families of the Earth, therefore will I punish your Iniquities. They have been better Taught than others, and made the Chief Parish in Town. God sent to them Prophets and Wise-men and Scribes, he hath been a Reprover of them all. Few parishes perhaps (I am sure I know but few) that have had such Labourers as they for five successions. Security, Luke-warmness, and bearing them that are evil, are the sins that God took worse from Magistrates and People than from other Towns. How hath the Spirit of God striven with them and within this year? They know the occasion. And fools that make a mock at sin, may now believe that God can be in earnest."

The only direct record of the fire to be found in the parish registers of All Saints is the following pathetic entry among the marriages of 1675:—"While the world lasts, remember September the 20th, a dreadfull Fire, it consumed to ashes in a few hours 3-parts of our Town and Chief Church."

"An Act for the better and More Easie Rebuilding

the Town of Northampton" was passed by Parliament in November, 1675, mainly, as has been already stated, through the exertions of the Earl of Northampton. The preamble recites that :—

Forasmuch as the greatest part of the Town of Northampton hath been burnt down, by a sudden and dreadful fire which happened in September last, and divers suits and controversies by reason thereof, are likely to arise between the several Proprietors and others claiming under them, tending (if not prevented) to the great vexation and damage of the poor Inhabitants, and hindring the Rebuilding of the said Town. (2) For remedy whereof, as also for the promoting the Rebuilding of the said Town, Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Judges of Assize for the county of Northampton, and other the Justices of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Barons for the Coif of the Exchequer for the time being, the Justices of Peace for the said County for the time being, and the Mayor of the town of Northampton for the time being, and Sir John Holman, Baronet, Sir Edmund Bray, Knight, Thomas Willughby, James Stedman, Robert Hesslerige, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Ward, Charles Fleetwood, Daniel Danvers, Salathiel Lovel, and William Kimbold, esquires, or any five or more of them, sitting at the same time and place together at the Guildhall, or some other place within the said Town of Northampton, shall be and by authority aforesaid are made and constituted a Court of Record."

The Commissioners thus appointed were authorised to settle all disputes as to ownership or boundaries; to make rules and directions as to the form and order of buildings; to enlarge and alter streets, lanes, roads, and passages, and to treat and compound for the ground to be used for these purposes. In case of dispute as to value, a jury was to be empanelled to settle the matter. It was further ordained that "if any person shall not build within three years, then the Court to dispose of the ground to such person as will build." In this case, however, due recompense had to be made to the owner of the land. All houses were in future to be covered with "lead, slatt, or tyle," and all perilous trades were prohibited. Any person who built a house worth £300 within seven years, became *ipso facto* a freeman of the town.

The only reference to the church of All Saints is contained in the proviso for enlarging "all the street or passage between the north side of All Saints church and the houses to be built over against it, and the street or passage on the south side of the said church, and the houses to be built over against it."

The sufferings of the people of Northampton called forth much sympathy from the country at large and money flowed in for their relief from all parts. King Charles gave a thousand tons of timber for the rebuilding of the church of All Saints, and granted to the town seven years remission from the chimney tax.

The tax known as "chimney-money" or "hearth-money" was first imposed in 1662, by an Act for "settling an annual Revenue of two shillings upon every hearth" upon the Crown. It was an exceeding unpopular measure, as is proved by many a contemporary ballad. The following, given by Macaulay, may be quoted as a specimen:—

There is not one old dame in ten,
And search the nation through,
But if you talk of chimney-men,
Will spare a curse or two.

One of the earliest acts of William III. on his accession to the throne was to propose to Parliament the abrogation of this hated tax. His message was to this effect, "That the King being sensible what a grievous Burden the Duty arising from Hearth-money was unto his People, especially to the Poorer Sort, His Majesty was pleased to Agree either to the Regulation of it or to the taking of it wholly away, not doubting but the Commons would take care of his revenue another way."

The Commons, in accordance with the King's wish, passed an Act in 1689 "for the Taking-away the Revenue arising from Hearth-money" and for providing funds from other sources.*

The Northampton people did not soon forget their indebtedness to King Charles. A statue of him was erected in 1712 on the balustrade of the portico of All Saints church, and along the edge of the portico is the following inscription:—

"This statue was erected in memory of K. Charles II. who gave a thousand ton of timber towards the rebuilding of this church, and to this town seven years chimney money collected in it. John Agutter, Mayor, 1712."

From North's *Church Bells of Northants.* we learn

* Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, i., 245.

that "The 29th of May was formerly observed with much festivity at Northampton, in remembrance of the Restoration of Charles II. Much oak was shewn over doors and in balconies and the statue of the King in front of All Saints church was enveloped in green boughs. Merry peals sounded from the bell towers."

Miss Baker says that the Mayor and Corporation as late as 1854 were accustomed "to go in procession to All Saints church accompanied by the boys and girls of the different charity schools, each of them having a sprig of oak, with a gilt oak-apple* placed in front of their dress, and should the season be unpropitious and oak-apples be scarce, small gilded potatoes were substituted."†

The names of others who contributed toward the relief of the Town are given on a large painted board, now in the consistory court of the church of All Saints. The list reads as follows :—

A Table of the worthy Benefactors voluntarily contributing towards Rebuilding the Church of All Saints and Reliefe of Sufferers by the dreadful fire in Northampton, which happened on the twentieth day of September, 1675.

The Royal Gift of King Charles ye II. A 1000 tunn of Timber and Seaven yeares chimney money collected in the Towne of Northampton.

	£	s.	d.
The Earle of Northampton	120	00	06
Earle of Sunderland	120	00	00
Earle of Kent	50	00	00
Earle of Cardigan	50	00	00
Lord Arlington.. .. .	100	00	00
Lord Crew	50	00	00
Lord Montague	10	00	00
Lord Rockingham and Lady	25	00	00
Lord Arch-Bp. of Canterbury	100	00	00
Lord Cheif Justice Raynsford	40	00	00
Lord Cheif Barron Montague	10	00	00
Joseph Lord Bp. of Peterborow	40	00	00
Lord Primate of Ireland	05	00	00
Lord Bp. of Litchfield and Coventree	05	00	00
Ralph Montague, Esq.	40	00	00
Sr William Farmer.. .. .	100	00	00
Sr William Langham	100	00	00
Sr Thomas Isham	50	00	00
Sr Roger Norwich	15	00	00

* The gilding of oak-apples on May 29th was not peculiar to Northampton but seems to have been observed in many other places, especially in Dorsetshire.

† Northants Glossary, ii., 69.

	£	s.	d.
Sr Thomas Samwell and Family ..	65	00	00
Sr Charles Yelverton	30	00	00
Sr Thomas Crewe	20	00	00
Sr Edward Nicholls	30	00	00
Sr John Robinson	30	00	00
Sr William Craven	10	00	00
Sr William Pargiter	15	00	00
Sr John Barnard	23	00	00
Sr Robert Shirley	20	00	00
Sr William Coventry	10	00	00
Sr Thomas Proby	10	00	00
Sr Rouland Berkly	12	06	06
Sr Walter St. Johns	10	00	00
Sr Richard Earle	10	00	00
Sr John Crew	05	00	00
The Lady Baltinglas	05	00	00
Lady Pyle.. .. .	10	00	00
Lady Wilbram.. .. .	05	00	00
Lady Knightley	10	00	00
Lady Smyth	02	03	00
Lady Isham	20	00	00
Lady Earle	05	00	00
Lady Rockingham	05	00	00
Mrs. Mary Isham	05	00	00
Mrs. Mary Crew	05	00	00
Mrs. Mary Nicholls	05	00	00
Mrs. Jane Gore	05	00	00
George Holman, Esq.	100	00	00
Paul Wentworth, Esq.	100	00	00
John Cartwright, Esq.	80	00	00
William Cartwright, Esq.	20	00	00
Devereux Knightley, Esq.	40	00	00
George Clark, Esq... .. .	20	00	00
Anchitel Gray, Esq.	20	00	00
William Alston, Esq.	15	00	00
Richard Raynsford, Esq.	15	00	00
Thomas Ward, Esq.	10	00	00
Edward Harby, Esq.	10	00	00
Edward Stratford, Esq.	10	00	00
Henry Edmunds, Esq.	05	00	00
Andrew Lant, Esq... .. .	05	00	00
Francis Lane, Esq,	05	00	00
John Ekins, Esq.	05	00	00
Thomas Catesby, Esq.	05	00	00
Edward Hales, Esq.	20	00	00
Dr. Townson	30	00	00
Richard Hampden, Esq.	10	00	00
Ye Gent: of Sr Fra. Comptons Troop ..	20	00	00
Mr. Parnell	05	00	00
George Dodson, Esq.	05	00	00
John White, Esq.	05	00	00
Mr. Jo: Warren Minist: of Hatfield ..	32	00	00
Mr. John Smart	08	08	06
Mr. Sayres	01	00	00
Mr. Chibnold	02	00	00
Mr. Vaux	03	05	00
Mr. Burr	01	11	00

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Floyd.. .. .	02	00	00
John Thorney, Esq.	02	10	00
Ashton	02	14	04
Alcester	26	02	06
Alesbury	26	00	00
Adson	06	00	00
Abbington	99	19	00
Buckingham	21	00	00
Brabrooke	05	10	00
Bedford	40	00	00
Birmingham	67	01	10
Bugbrook	11	01	10
Bistor	39	01	08
Banbury	110	15	00
Braunston	20	14	00
Coventree	200	00	00
Chipping Norton	46	00	00
Corby	07	00	00
Colebrafield	08	00	00
Cambridge University	286	05	06
Cambridge Corporation.. .. .	85	13	04
Cottingham	10	00	00
Darby.. .. .	150	00	00
Dadford	05	00	00
Daventry	56	02	09
Eversham	42	00	02
Edon	12	15	00
Eversdon	09	03	10
Grantham	81	00	09
Harborow	13	10	07
Hitching	71	13	00
Herringhold	02	00	11
Huntington	45	18	04
Hayle Weston	05	00	00
Holliwell	07	10	00
Hinckley	12	07	04
Higham-Ferris.. .. .	20	00	00
Hatford	03	00	00
King's Cliffe	20	01	06
King's Rippon	02	14	05
London City (about)	5000	00	00
Leicester	50	00	00
Loughborow	15	00	00
Litterworth	16	00	00
Laundon	10	00	00
Lincolne	118	02	00
Melton Mowbray	29	00	07
Manchester	155	10	07
Nottingham	150	00	00
Newport-Pagnell	54	04	01
Oakley-Magna	16	00	00
Oundle	37	00	00
Orlingbury	02	12	08
Odewell	13	00	00
Overston	05	02	06
Oxford University	450	00	00
Oxford City	124	06	08

	£	s.	d.
Olney	27	05	03
Pattishall	10	19	04
Peterborow	30	00	00
Rothwell	18	00	00
Ramsey	13	00	10
Slapton	04	02	06
Shernford	05	10	00
Sherly	04	10	00
Stamford	80	00	00
Stebbington, Bedford	06	11	00
Spellsbury.. .. .	08	06	09
Southam	10	17	04
Stratford-upon-Avon	118	00	11
St. Ives	30	05	06
Thorpe Malser	07	02	09
Warwick	171	10	07
Warmington	10	00	00
Welden	08	16	00
Weston and Weedon	04	00	00
Woodstock	31	12	00
Wellingborow	66	11	06
Yardly-Gobion	02	00	00
Yorke City.. .. .	100	00	00

During the rebuilding of the church of All Saints, the congregation migrated to St. Peter's, which was lent to Dr. Conant, the vicar of All Saints, by his brother-in-law, Dr. Reynolds, who then held the living of St. Peter's, with Upton and Kingsthorpe.

The following extracts from the All Saints parish registers from September, 1675-80, show that the marriages of parishioners were celebrated both in St. Peter's and in the chapel of St. John's Hospital.

October, 1675. Francis Cave and Ann Munn were married at St. Jones Chappell [No date given].

January, 1675-6. John Barrett and Sarah Brookes were married xxvijth day by Doctor Conant at St. Jones Chappell ours being desolate.

May, 1676. John Luck and Ann Scarlett were married at St. Peeters 15th day.

February, 1677-8. Mr. Joseph Brasegirdle, Minester and Mis: Mary Gibbs were married the seventh day at St. Peter's."

The new church of All Saints was re-opened on September 5th, 1680, by the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Lloyd), who also preached the sermon. Accordingly in October of that year the following entry occurs recording a marriage in the new church:—

Joseph Clarke et Mary Howes nupti fuerunt eodem die [Oct. 8] in novo templo.

Varia.

In 1585 a new constitution was granted by the town Assembly to the Gild of Fullers, for the better ordering of the master and householders of that occupation and for the due, diligent, and lawful using of their fellow townsmen and neighbours in the country, who had woollen cloth to be wrought. One of the provisions was to the effect that on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, all fullers and shermen shall meet in the church of All Saints to elect two wardens, under pain of 6s. 8d.

FIRE REGULATIONS.—At the beginning of the seventeenth century fires appear to have been very prevalent in Northampton, and several orders were made by the Assembly with a view to their prevention. In October, 1612, it was recited that

Forasmuch as there have latelie verie dangerous fires happened within this Corporation to the noe small hurte and damage of the inhabitants of this Corporation which would not have bene yf that it had pleased God that the begininge beinge at the first small had been prevented by store of suche instrumentes and meanes as are now thought fitt and convenient; that is with store of buckets for cariage of water, hookes and ladders which are verie fewe and scarce in this corporation.

It was therefore ordered that the chamberlain provide twelve new town buckets of leather and see to their constant repair and renewal, and also eight good and sufficient ladders, four long and four short, and six good and sufficient hooks: that the mayor and aldermen should provide three buckets each: the bailiffs and ex-bailiffs two, and the forty-eight (and every commoner and freeman deemed capable of so doing) one; all with their initials painted thereon. And further that those who had to provide three buckets or two buckets, should always have one of them standing in the church of All Saints, and that the ladders and hooks were also to be placed in the same church. In 1619 the clause relative to the placing of buckets in the church of All Saints was repealed in favour of their being placed in the parish church of the bucket owner.

The parish vestry book of All Saints contains a list covering several pages, of "buckets brought in the First day of August, 1628." The first name on the list is that

of Mr. John Danbie, mayor, who contributed three buckets. His name is followed by those of 129 others, who contributed between them 190 buckets. A few of these are, however, marked St. Sepulchre's, St. Giles, and St. Peter. In 1629, there were in the churchwardens' charge "one hundred three score and fyve buckets."

STORM.—In 1651, Northampton was visited by a severe thunderstorm which is thus quaintly chronicled in Freeman's History:—"1651. Such a hasty shower of rain that the water ran through All Saints' church and the South Gate a foot deep."

Under 1680, the following curious occurrence is recorded in the Lee MSS. :—

Upon Easterday this yr Mr. Ives Minister of St Gyles in this Town, his wife being buried abt 14 dayes before, gave dole bread to ye poor of ye parrish of All Saints, and pyled [it] up at ye Lower end of ye Church. A great part of ye bread falling down in Sermon time made a great noise and caused a great fear to ye people, they Imagineing the Church had been falling, run all out of ye Church.





ALL SAINTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH
CENTURIES.

The Bills of Mortality.

THE history of the church of All Saints in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not an eventful one, but one fact at least is noteworthy, viz. :—that the celebrated Northampton Tables, the foundation of all the life insurance calculations, were framed by Dr. Price on the bills of mortality annually presented by the clerk of this parish. These famous bills were considered at that time as a fair average for insurers and insured, and though the increased general longevity has now caused them to be abandoned as too favourable to the insurance offices, the All Saints mortality records will always be mentioned in treatises on life insurance.

In the British Museum are two collections of "yearly Bills of Mortality within the Town of Northampton." The first of these extends from December 21st, 1736* (the first occasion on which they were printed) to December 21st, 1819.

The first four Bills comprise the mortality of the parish of All Saints only, but from 1740 they are for the whole town. It must, however, be noted that though from this date summaries of the births and deaths are given for each of the town parishes, in the case of All Saints only are full particulars given as to the respective ages and cause of death of the deceased. The collection is not complete, several Bills being missing, and those for the years from December, 1799 to 1818 are altogether wanting.

The second collection begins with December, 1776, and extends to 1867, but in this collection too, several Bills are missing, and others are mutilated.

A third collection is in the possession of Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton (by whose kindness the annexed reprint has been supplied). His collection comprises Bills for 1751 and from 1765 to their discontinuance in 1871.

The first of these Bills was presented to the Mayor and Corporation by Alexander Phillips. It was for the year ending December 21st, 1737, in which the baptisms in All Saints parish were 115 and the burials 93.

In the year ending December 21st, 1740 special reference is made to an outbreak of small pox. In All Saints parish 568 had the "distemper," whereof 85 died; St. Sepulchre's 165, and 27 deaths; St. Giles 106 and 9 deaths; and St. Peters 60 and 11 deaths. Total 899 cases with 132 deaths.

The lists for All Saints parish for the earlier years include in addition to those buried in the churchyard proper, those interred "in the New chapel in Kings head Lane, at the Quakers' burial ground, at the meeting in College Lane, and at the meeting on the Green."

The Bill for 1744 is the first that concludes with a poetical quotation—taken on that occasion from "Pomfret's poems." Later on it became customary for the

* Before this date they appear to have been presented by the clerk in manuscript.

To the WORSHIPFUL

RICHARD MEACOCK, Esq; MAYOR,
The Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgeffes,

And the Rest of the Worthy Inhabitants

of the Town of **NORTHAMPTON,**

This yearly **BILL of MORTALITY** is presented,

By their most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COX.

The **BILL of MORTALITY** within the Parish of *All-Saints*, from the 21st of *December 1787*, to the 21st of *December 1788*; including Persons (in Number 10) buried from the *County-Infirmery*; the Meeting in *College-Lane*, 19; the Meeting on the Green, 1; and the Quakers' Burying-Ground, 1.

DISEASES in the Parish of *All-Saints*.

Abortive and Stillborn	4	Conformptions	-	27	Fevers	-	14	Jaundice	-	1	Rupture	-	1
Accidents	-	Convulsions	3	1	Fits	-	21	Measles	-	4	Rheumatism	-	1
Aged	-	13	-	4	Inflamations	-	5	Mortification	-	2	Small-Pox	-	40
Asthma	-	2	-	9	Impoithume	-	1	Palsy	-	1	Suddenly	-	4

WHEREOF HAVE DIED,

Under Two Years old	47	Ten and Twenty	-	10	Forty and Fifty	-	17	Seventy and Eighty	-	12
Between Two and Five	24	Twenty and Thirty	-	11	Fifty and Sixty	-	8	Eighty and Ninety	-	2
Five and Ten	-	Thirty and Forty	-	10	Sixty and Seventy	-	11	Ninety and an Hundred	-	0

The Ages of the other Parishes, not included.

CHRISTENED.			BURIED.				
	Males	Females	Total.	Males	Females	Total.	
ALL-SAINTS.	-	52	55	107	73	65	138
St. SEPULCHRE'S.	20	11	31	23	25	48	
St. GILES'S.	-	14	17	24	38	62	
St. PETER'S.	-	2	3	6	4	10	
At the Meeting in St. Peter's Parish	-	-	-	5	3	8	
In the whole Town.	88	86	174	131	135	266	
Births among the Dissenters, not included	-	-	-	Increased	-	98	

Buried of the Small-Pox.—All-Saints, 40. St. Sepulchre's, 7. St. Giles's, 7. St. Peter's, 3. Meeting in St. Peter's Parish, 3.—Total 60.

Quod ad se mememo

*Componere equus; cetera flammis
Ritu seruntur.* HORACE.

Improve the present Hour, for all beside
Is a mere Feather on a Torrent's Tide.

COULD I, from Heav'n inspir'd, as sure preface

To whom the rising Year shall prove his last,
As I can number in my punctual Page,
And Item down the Victims of the past;

How each would trembling wait the mournful Sheet,
On which the Prefs might stamp him next to die;
And, reading here his Sentence, how replete
With anxious Meaning Heav'n-ward turn his Eye!

Time, then, would seem more precious than the Joys
In which he sports away the Treasure now;
And Pray'r more seasonable than the Noise
Of Drunkards, or the Music-drawing Bow.

Then, doubtless, many a Trifler on the Brink
Of this World's hazardous and headlong Shore,
For'd to a Pause, would feel it good to think,
Told that his setting Sun must rise no more.

Ah self-deceiv'd! Could I, prophetic, say,
Who next is fated, and who next, to fall,
The Rest might then seem privileg'd to play;
But, naming *none*, the Voice now speaks to ALL.

Observe the dappled Foresters, how light
They bound and airy o'er the sunny Glade—
One falls—the Rest wide-scatter'd with Affright,
Vanish at once into the darkest Shade.

Had we their Wisdom, should we, often warn'd,
Still need repeated Warnings, and at last,
A Thousand awful Admonitions scorn'd,
Die self-accus'd of Life all run to Waste?

Sad Waste! for which no After-Thrift atones:
The Grave admits no Cure of Guilt or Sin.
Dew-Drops may deck the Turf that hides the Bones,
But Tears of godly Grief ge'er flow within.

Learn then, ye Living! By the Mouths be taught
Of all these Sepulchres, Instructors true,
That, soon or late, Death also is your Lot,
And the next opening Grave may yawn for you.

clerk himself to compose the verses. No doubt the theme was growing oppressive and the subject a little threadbare when John Cox, who held the important office, heard that "Mr. Cowper, a poet," was living at Weston Underwood, and determined to ask him to supply a copy of verses.

The interview is humourously described by Cowper in a letter to Lady Hesketh, dated from the Lodge, Weston Underwood, November 27th, 1787:—

"On Monday morning last Sam brought me word that there was a man in the kitchen who desired to speak with me. I ordered him in. A plain, decent, elderly figure made its appearance, and being desired to sit, spoke as follows:—'Sir, I am clerk of the parish of All Saints, Northampton, brother to Mr. C[ox] the upholsterer. It is customary for the person in my office to annex to a Bill of Mortality which he publishes at Christmas, a copy of verses. You would do me a great favour, sir, if you would favour me with one.' To this I replied, 'Mr. C., you have several men of genius in your town, why have you not applied to some of them? There is a namesake of yours in particular, C., the statuary, who, everybody knows, is a first-rate maker of verses; he, surely, is the man of all the world for your purpose.' 'Alas! sir, I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading, that the people of our town cannot understand him.' I confess to you, my dear, that I felt all the force of the compliment implied in this speech, and was almost ready to answer, 'Perhaps, my good friend, they may find me unintelligible too for the same reason,' but on asking him whether he had walked over to Weston on purpose to implore the assistance of my muse, and on his replying in the affirmative, I felt my mortified vanity a little consoled, and pitying the poor man's distress, which appeared to be considerable, promised to supply him. The waggon has accordingly gone this day to Northampton, loaded in part with my effusions in the mortuary style. A fig for poets who write epitaphs upon individuals. I have written *one* that serves *two hundred* persons!"*

* The Works of William Cowper, and his Life and Letters. Edited by Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, 1835. iii., 270-1.

The lines furnished by Cowper were as follows :—

While thirteen moons saw smoothly run
The Nen's barge-laden wave,
All these, life's rambling journey done,
Have found their home—the grave,

Was man—frail always—made more frail
Than in foregoing years?
Did famine or did plague prevail,
That so much death appears?

No; these were vigorous as their sires,
Nor plague nor famine came;
This annual tribute death requires
And never waives his claim.

Like crowded forest trees we stand,
And some are marked to fall;
The axe will smite at God's command,
And soon shall smite us all.

Green as the bay tree, ever green,
With its new foliage on,
The gay, the thoughtless have I seen,
I passed—and they were gone.

Read, ye that run, the awful truth
With which I charge my page!
A worm is in the bud of youth,
And at the root of age.

No present health can health insure
For yet an hour to come;
No medicine, though it oft can cure,
Can always balk the tomb.

And oh! that humble as my lot,
And scorned as is my strain;
These truths, though known, too much forgot,
I may not teach in vain.

So prays your clerk with all his heart,
And, ere he quits the pen,
Begs you for once to take his part,
And answer all—Amen.

For several years after this (1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1792, and 1793) the good-natured poet contributed the verses, doubtless to the pecuniary advantage of Mr. J. Cox, and his successor, Mr. Samuel Wright. They are to be found in any edition of the poet's complete works.

After 1871 these interesting Bills of Mortality were discontinued, the Registrar-General's official reports rendering them unnecessary.*

* For further information on this subject, see *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, part xi., vol. ii., pp. 77-81.

The various parish clerks who presented them were as follows :—

1736-1766.	Alexander Phillips
1767-1780.	Richard Claridge
1781-1789.	John Cox
1790-1817.	Samuel Wright
1818-1820.	Charles Wright
1821-1855.	John Wright
1856-1870.	Henry James.

The Assassination of Spencer Perceval.

In May, 1812, England was horror-stricken at the news that the Prime Minister, Mr. Spencer Perceval, had been shot in the lobby of the House of Commons by an assassin named Bellingham. Mr. Perceval had been for many years closely connected with Northampton, having held the office of Deputy Recorder for twenty-one years, and having represented the town in Parliament for sixteen years. The murder took place on the evening of May 11th, and on June 5th following the Northampton Assembly ordered :—

That this Corporation subscribe the sum of £105 in aid of the Subscription already opened for erecting a Monument to the memory of the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval in All Saints Church, such Subscription to be paid by the General Treasurer, and to be entered in the following words, *viz.* :—"The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the Town of Northampton as a testimony of their respect for the meritorious services of the late Right Honourable Spencer Percival during 21 years their Deputy Recorder, more than 16 years a representative of the said Town in Parliament, and for his faithful and patriotic services to his King and country as Prime Minister, £105.

Upwards of £2,000 was raised towards the cost of the statue, and the work was entrusted to the famous sculptor, Chantrey. It was completed in 1817, and was placed in the chancel of All Saints church. The monument was unveiled with some little ceremony on Wednesday, December 3rd, of that year, and was generally considered one of the most successful efforts of the great sculptor, whose fame was then at its zenith. A contemporary account says :—"This elegant piece of sculpture, admirable in design, exquisitely chaste and beautiful, forcibly and strikingly evincing the superior talents and genius of the artist, now occupies a distinguished place in the solemn temple and sanctuary of

religion, where its transcendent merits will be duly appreciated and applauded by future generations."

It never occurred to the writer of this passage that the monumental statue of one of the most distinguished men connected with All Saints, Northampton, and in itself a considerable work of art, would be coolly ejected from the church where it had been placed, within fifty years of its erection! The manifold and unhappy alterations to which All Saints was subjected in 1866, included the thrusting out of Mr. Perceval's monument, which was relegated to the gloom of the town's museum. The statue was afterwards moved to the lobby of the town hall and now rests in the council chamber, where it stands in a very bad light, and is seldom seen save by the aldermen and councillors. Is it too much to hope that this distinguished Premier's monument, the work of so eminent an artist, may once more find shelter within the sacred walls where it was first placed?

A Curious Survival.

The custom of the congregation standing whenever the Lord's Prayer was read in the second lesson for the day, prevailed at All Saints at least as late as 1859. It is somewhat remarkable how this custom, which was at one time the general English use, died out with great rapidity towards the middle of the nineteenth century, lingering longest in cathedral and large town churches. In 1854, the editor of *Notes and Queries* described it as a custom prevailing in the majority of our churches, and it was mentioned as practised at that time in the cathedral churches of Durham, Bristol, and Norwich, whilst at Exeter cathedral the congregation knelt. It was also then the use at Birmingham, Portsmouth, Yarmouth, and generally throughout the episcopal churches of Scotland. It largely prevailed in the country churches of West Somerset in the forties and fifties. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* in 1861 states that the use was then customary at the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Mourning for Royalty.

The accounts of the borough of Northampton show that on several occasions during the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, a considerable amount was spent by the Corporation for putting the church of All Saints into mourning on the death of a member of the royal family.

William III. died March 8th, 1702-3, and the mayor's accounts* for that year shew that £1 12s. 10d. was spent for this purpose.

On the death of Queen Anne, the Corporation spent 30s. for hanging the pulpit of All Saints and their official seats with black†

In 1817, on the death of the popular Princess Charlotte, no less than £56 2s. 5d. was expended by the Corporation "for hanging the Mayor's seat, etc., in All Saints in mourning." ‡The day of her funeral is thus described by Freeman :—

"1817. Nov. 18th. This day was observed by a general relaxation from business, in consequence of the burial of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, who died on the 6th. Divine service was performed in all the churches, and minute bells tolled during the day."

George III. died on January 29th, 1820, and on February 16th, following, his funeral took place. The day was observed in Northampton "with every possible solemnity." The Mayor and Corporation attended service at All Saints, while £27 was expended, at the cost of the town, for putting the church into mourning.

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 482.

† Ibid. 485.

‡ Ibid. 489.

IOHANNES



CONANT, S.T.P.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VICARS OF ALL SAINTS.

No pains have been spared to make the following list of vicars as complete as possible. Careful search has been made in the episcopal and arch-episcopal Registers at Lincoln, Peterborough, and

LIST OF

	NAME.	DATE OF INSTITUTION.	PATRONS.
I.	.. Thomas de Alencestria ..	1227	Prior and Convent of St. Andrew, Northampton
II.	.. Robert de Kolebois ..	1230, Aug. 1st	Ditto ditto ..
III.	..*Alexander de Wudeford ..	1235	Ditto ditto ..
IV.	..*Adam .. ..	.. ..	Ditto ditto ..
V.	.. William .. ..	.. ..	Ditto ditto ..
VI.	.. Geoffrey de Wicle ..	1271, June 15th	Ditto ditto ..
VII.	.. John de Marcle <i>alias</i> John de Hereford	1309, Apr. 20th	Ditto ditto ..
VIII.	..*Thomas de Draughton ..	1319, Dec. 21st	Ditto ditto ..
IX.	..*Geoffrey Pope de Stotisbury.	1320, Apr. 12th	Ditto ditto ..
X.	..*William Eyndyng	1349, Aug. 6th	The King (the temporalities of the Priory being in his hands owing to the war with France.)
XI.	.. John Atte Brook .. ..	.. ..	.. ..
XII.	.. Roland Jokkes	1367, Oct. 6th	Prior and Convent of St. Andrew.
XIII.	.. Richard de Tannesorie ..	1369, Oct. 16th	The King (the temporalities of the Priory being in his hands owing to the war with France).

Lambeth; among the manuscripts and charters at the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Bodleian Library; in the early wills at the Northampton Probate Office; and in the Municipal Archives and the Parochial Registers and Vestry Books. The result has been the addition of the names of fourteen vicars unnoticed in any previously printed list. (These are marked with an asterisk.)

Patrons.

The appointment to the living of All Saints, after its appropriation to the priory of St. Andrew, remained in the hands of the prior and convent till the dissolution of their monastery in 1538. During the French wars of Edward III. and Richard II., however, the King exercised the right of patronage. The priory of St. Andrew was dependent on the French abbey of St. Mary de Caritate, and hence its revenues and emoluments were

VICARS.

CAUSE OF VACANCY.	AUTHORITIES.
.	Register of Hugh Wells, Bishop of Lincoln
.	Ditto
.	Register of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln
.	Harleian Charters, 49, c. 6.
.	Register of Richard Gravesend, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of William, last incumbent	Ditto
Death of Geoffrey de Rowell . .	Ditto
Resignation of John de Hereford	Ditto
Death of Thomas de Draughton	Register of Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln
.	Patent Rolls, 23 Edward III., part 2.
.	Register of John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln
Exchanged with John Atte Brook	Patent Rolls, 43 Edward III.
.	Patent Rolls, 43 Edward III.

	NAME.	DATE OF INSTITUTION.	PATRONS.
XIV.	.. John Plomme de Barwe Super Sore	1372-3, Jan. 27th	The King ..
XV.	.. *Richard Bradan	1383, June 10th	Ditto ditto ..
XVI.	.. Richard Langeport	1396-7, Mar. 14th	Ditto ditto ..
XVII.	.. Richard Wawen	1428, Nov. 22nd	Prior and Convent of St. Andrew.
XVIII.	.. William Breton, S.T.P. ..	1434, July 31st	Ditto ditto ..
XIX.	.. John Lumbury, S.T.P. ..	1471-2, Feb. —	Ditto ditto ..
XX.	.. John Trentham, S.T.P. ..	1474-5, Feb. 8th	Ditto ditto ..
XXI.	.. Robert Medilham, S.T.P. ..	1480, Dec. 18th	Ditto ditto ..
XXII.	.. Hugh Myllyng, S.T.P. ..	1511, Dec. 20th	Ditto ditto ..
XXIII.	.. John Bell, M.A.	1530, July 16th	Ditto ditto ..
XXIV.	.. Thomas Malery	1539, May 12th	Thomas, Lord Cromwell, (granted to him by Prior and Convent of St. Andrew.
XXV.	.. William Ermystead, S.T.P.	1545, Oct. 28th	The King
XXVI.	.. *William Barnard	1549, Nov. 29th	Ditto
XXVII.	.. William Nanseglos	1550, Aug. 23rd	Ditto
XXVIII.	.. *Ralph Persall <i>alias</i> Sutton ..	1559 occurs	
XXIX.	.. William Smith, M.A.	1573-4, Mar. 6th	The Queen
XXX.	.. *Richard Bearde	1577, Aug. 18th	Ditto
XXXI.	.. *William Jennings, M.A. ..	1578, Dec. 19th	Ditto
XXXII.	.. *John Johnson, M.A.	1584, Aug. 14th	Ditto
XXXIII.	.. *Philip Favour, M.A.	1589, July 1st	Ditto
XXXIV.	.. *Robert Catlyn	1596, May 14th	Ditto
XXXV.	.. David Owen, B.C.L.	1613-4, Jan. 14th	The King
XXXVI.	.. Jeremiah Lewis	1615-6, Mar. 8th	Ditto
XXXVII.	.. *Edward Reynolds, M.A.	1627-8, Jan. 9th	Mayor and Aldermen ..
XXXVIII.	.. Thos. Ball, M.A.	1629, Nov. 11th	Ditto ditto ..
XXXIX.	.. Simon Ford, S.T.P.	1659	Ditto ditto ..
XL.	.. John Conant, S.T.P.	1670-1, Feb. 15th	Ditto ditto ..
XLI.	.. Benjamin King, S.T.P.	1689-90, Feb. 8th	Ditto ditto ..
XLII.	.. Benjamin King, M.A.	1716-7, Feb. 6th	Ditto ditto ..
XLIII.	.. Aaron Locock	1732, May 10th	Ditto ditto ..
XLIV.	.. John Frost	1752, Aug. 6th	Ditto ditto ..
XLV.	.. William Hughes, M.A.	1774, Dec. 15th	Ditto ditto ..
XLVI.	.. Edward Miller	1794, April 1st	Ditto ditto ..
XLVII.	.. Charles Henry Tuffnell, B.A.	1804, Dec. 4th	Ditto ditto ..
XLVIII.	.. William Thursby, M.A.	1822, Dec. 20th	Ditto ditto ..
XLIX.	.. William Wales, M.A.	1833, Jan. 31st	Ditto ditto ..
L.	.. Sydney Gedge, M.A.	1859, May 21st	Baron Overstone ..
LI.	.. Robert Bevan Hull, M.A. ..	1877, Aug. 19th	Ditto
LII.	.. Francis Norman Thicknesse, M.A.	1899, Sept. 6th	Baroness Wantage ..

VICARS—*continued.*

CAUSE OF VACANCY.	AUTHORITIES.
Exchanged with Richard de Tannesorie	Register of John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln
..	Patent Rolls, 5 Richard II.
Not stated	Register of John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of Richard Langeport ..	Register of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln
Resignation of Richard Wawen	Register of William Grey, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of William Breton ..	Register of Lincoln <i>sede vacante</i>
Resignation of John Lumbury ..	Register of Thos. Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of John Trentham ..	Register of John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of Robert Medilham ..	Register of William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln
Resignation of Hugh Myllyng ..	Register of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln
Death of John Bell	Ditto
Death of Thomas Malery ..	Register of John Chambers, Bishop of Peterboro'
..	Firstfruits Composition Books at Public Record Office
Dismissal of last incumbent ..	Register of John Chambers, Bishop of Peterboro'
..	His will in Northampton Probate Office
Not stated	Register of Edmund Scambler Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of William Smith ..	Ditto
..	Ditto
Resignation of William Jennings	Ditto
Resignation of William Johnson	Register of Richd. Howland, Bishop of Peterboro'
..	Firstfruits Composition Books, Public Record Office.
Resignation of Robert Catlyn ..	Register of Thos. Dove, Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of David Owen ..	Ditto
Resignation of Jeremiah Lewis	Ditto
Resignation of Ed. Reynolds ..	Ditto
Death of Thomas Ball	Parochial Registers of All Saints Church
Resignation of Simon Ford ..	Register of Joseph Henshaw, Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of John Conant ..	Register of Thomas White, Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of Benj. King, Sen.	Register of Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterboro'
Death of Benjamin King ..	Institution Books at Public Record Office
Death of Aaron Locock ..	Ditto
Exchanged with John Frost ..	Register of John Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterboro'
Death of William Hughes ..	Register of Spencer Madan, Bishop of Peterboro'
Death of Edward Miller ..	Ditto
Death of C. H. Tuffnell..	Register of Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of William Thursby	Ditto
Resignation of William Wales..	Register of George Davys, Bishop of Peterboro'
Resignation of Sydney Gedge ..	Register of William Connor Magee, Bishop of Peterboro'
Exchange with R. B. Hull ..	Register of Edward Carr Glyn, Bishop of Peterboro.'

seized by the Crown. In the reign of Henry IV. the priory obtained leave to retain possession of its temporalities, even during a war with France, upon paying annually to the Crown a pension of twenty shillings.

On the dissolution of the monasteries, the patronage of the living of All Saints went to the Crown, the first appointment, that of Thomas Malory, in 1539, being made by Vicar-General Cromwell. The succeeding incumbents for over seventy years were Crown nominees, the last being Jeremiah Lewis, who was appointed by James I. in 1615. Shortly after that date the King appears to have bestowed the patronage on John Payne and John Stanley, who transferred it to Dame Katherine, afterwards the wife of Sir Thomas Littleton, Knt. In 1619 (May 24th) Sir Thomas and Dame Katherine sold the advowson and rectory of All Saints to the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton for the sum of £200. In 1636, in an action brought by the Attorney-General on behalf of the Crown, against Sir Thomas Littleton and his wife, the following interesting information with regard to this sale was produced.*

Toby Coldwell of Northampton, gent., aged about 53, says that the said Rectory of All Saints came into the hands of deft. Sir Thomas Littleton by his intermarriage with the said Dame Katherine his wife, who was possessed thereof by virtue of "some wrighteing" made from the said John Stanley and John Payne to her before her marriage. Knows that the said Sir Thomas and Dame Katherine divers years ago sold the said Rectory of All Saints in Northampton, and the advowson, free disposition and right of patronage of the vicarage there for £200 being a full and valuable price and consideration for the same, which they received in full satisfaction of the said sale to which receipt and conveyance deponent was a witness.

The indenture† now produced is the indenture itself by which the said Rectory and advowson were sold by the defts. to the purchasers thereof.

* Exchequer Depositions by Commission, Northampton, 11 Charles I. Easter. No. 11.

† 24th May 17 James I. By Feoff^{mt} Sir Thomas Littleton and Dame Katherine his Wife in consⁿ of Two Hundred Pounds, granted to George Raynsford and oth^s Aldermen of the Corporation of the Town of Northampton all that Rectory Impropriate and Church of All Saints in the said Town with all the rights, members and App^s thereof then late part of and belonging to the dissolved Monastery of St. Andrew's near the Town of Northampton, and all Messuages, Lands, and Hered^{ts} and all Tythes oblations, profits, comm^{ns} and emoluments, either spiritual or temporal belonging. To hold to the said George Raynsford and oth^s in fee.—Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, v., 143.

From 1619 to 1835 the patronage remained in the hands of the Corporation, or rather, such members of the Corporation as were inhabitants of the parish of All Saints. In the latter year, after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, the living was sold to Lewis Loyd, from whom it passed by descent to the late Lord Overstone and subsequently to his daughter Lady Wantage, the present patroness.

The Vicar's Stipend.

The church of All Saints was originally a rectory, but as has already been mentioned, it was handed over by Simon de St. Liz towards the close of the eleventh century, to the neighbouring priory of St. Andrew. From this time forward the monks enjoyed all the emoluments and contented themselves with paying a small sum to a chaplain to conduct the services. This system of "appropriating" churches to religious houses was a disastrous one from the point of view of the parishioners. The cures were often scandalously neglected, and the churches fell into decay. A determined effort was made at the beginning of the thirteenth century to remedy the abuse by the establishment of "vicarages" and nowhere was this policy more actively carried out than in the diocese of Lincoln. The method adopted in the establishment of a vicarage was as follows:—An inquisition was made in the chapter of the rural dean into the value of the rectory and the competent portion to be assigned to the vicarage. A return was then made to the bishop, who was to approve and confirm the acts of the chapter or to alter them as he thought fit. The allotment was then entered in the bishop's register. The amount usually assigned to the vicar was about one third of the profits of the benefice, derived from altar dues and tithes, as well as a house and some glebe. His salary usually amounted to five or six marks. The monastery was also often compelled to provide him with an assistant, and All Saints being an important church, two were required. The Council of Oxford, held under Stephen Langton in 1222, specified five marks as a fitting maintenance for the vicar,

“except in Wales, where the vicars are content with less.”*

The vicarage of All Saints was ordained in 1227, and from Bishop Hugh Wells' Endowment Book at Lincoln we find that the following provision was made for the vicar:—

Omnium Sanctorum, Northampton. Vicaria in ecclesia omnium Sanctorum Northampton que est monachorum Sancti Andree Northampton auctoritate concilii ordinata. Vicarius habebit nomine vicarie sue unum corredium monachale cotidianum in refectorio vel in camera prioris vel alibi ubi voluerit et serviens suos similiter unum corredium consimile habebit unius majorum servientium prioratus et XXX solidos annuos pro stipendiis et preterea in quatuor principalibus festis oblacionem scilicet in quolibet festo VI. denarios. Item medietatem secundi legati. Item qualibet die dominica residuum panis benedicti. Item quum celebrabit pro corpore presenti vel in contractu nuptiarum unum denarium. Monachi sustinebunt omnia onera et invenient suis sumptibus duos capellanos in adjutorium vicarii et clericos dictis capellanis necessarios. Idem autem vicarius capellani et clerici juramentum prestabunt dictis priori et monachis de fidelitate eis observanda in temporalibus.†

Freely translated, this means that the vicar was to have a “corrody,” that is a right to his meals at the priory, either at the common table in the refectory, or in the prior's chamber, whichever he preferred; together with a corrody for his servant at the servant's table. This arrangement seems to have been the usual one in Northampton, but could only of course be adopted where the appropriated church was adjacent to the priory or abbey. In addition to his corrody, the vicar was also to receive 30s. a year as stipend; also at each of the four principal feasts he was entitled to sixpence; also half of every alternate legacy to the church; also on every Lord's day the residue of the blessed bread; and whenever he celebrated mass at a funeral or a wedding, one penny. The monks undertook to pay all expenses connected with the church, and also promised to provide at their own expense two chaplains to assist the vicar, and clerks for the said chaplains. The vicar, chaplains, and clerks were all expected to take an oath of fidelity to the prior and monks.

One or two of the above expressions require a word of explanation.

* *Liber Antiquus* of Hugh Wells. Edited by A. Gibbons.

† *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariorum tempore Hugonis* Wells, Linc: Episc: 1209-1235. fo: 10b

(1) *Secundum Legatum*, or alternate legacy. In all churches appropriated to the abbey of Osney, there was a very similar arrangement. There the vicars were to have every second legacy, if to the value of sixpence, and one half of it if beyond that value.

(2) Blessed bread. In early days it was the custom to make offerings of bread for the Holy Eucharist, of which a part was consecrated for use in the Sacrament, the rest being simply blessed and distributed to the faithful as a token of goodwill and christian fellowship. The Roman "pain beni" is a relic of this ancient custom.

(3) Funeral mass. This represents the *missa presenti corpore defuncti*, or mass on the day of burial, as opposed to the mere memorial mass which might be celebrated at any time.

The arrangement does not appear to have worked well, for at the close of the century a change had taken place. The vicars had given up their "corrody" and received instead the small tithes and offerings, the great tithes still going to the priory.

In 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. granted a tenth of ecclesiastical incomes to Edward I. for six years, towards defraying the expenses of another expedition to the Holy Land, and that they might be collected to their full value, a valuation or taxation by the King's precept over the whole of England was begun in 1288 and concluded in 1291.

The church of All Saints was then returned as worth £10 13s. 4d. If we take the generally accepted estimate that the purchasing value of money was then twenty-four times as great as now, the revenue of the church would then correspond to £256 of our money. The taxation of Pope Nicholas continued to be the basis upon which all clerical incomes were assessed for over two hundred years, but in 1535 a new valuation was made, which is generally known in history as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII.

From this return we find that the vicars of All Saints had surrendered to the priory all their tithes and offerings, and received in exchange an annual payment of £13 6s. 8d. Out of this, sixteen pence a year was paid to the college of All Saints for the privilege of having a private door into the college (*pro via habenda ad*

cameram suam), and two pence a year to the town of Northampton as a quit rent. This leaves a balance of £13 5s. 2d., and assuming that the purchasing value of money in 1535 was twelve times as great as now, the vicar's income would correspond to £159 2s.

On the suppression of the priory of St. Andrew, the revenues of the house, including the tithes of All Saints, were seized by the Crown, which still, however, continued to pay the vicar his £13 6s. 8d. and £1 15s. to two assistant priests, as the priory had done.

Accordingly, among the royal accounts for 29-30 Henry VIII. we get the following particulars relating to the church of All Saints, under the heading

LANDS, &c. OF THE PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW,
NORTHAMPTON.

TITHES. Of £22 of the annual farm of the profit of the Tithes of the Rectory of All Saints, within the town of Northampton, he does not answer, because they are granted to Francis Abrey, late Prior there, by letters patent, under the seal of the Court of Augmentations, in part payment of £50 a year granted to him as a pension.

PAYMENTS.

- (1) PENSIONS. £13 6s. 8d. the annual pension of John Bell, vicar of the parish church of All Saints: and 35s. to Richard Turr, clerk, and Robert [blank in original], two secondary chaplains, in the parish church aforesaid.
- (2) Annual payment from the church of All Saints of ix^s. vi^d. obqr per annum to the Archdeacon of Northampton for procurations and sinodals.*

In the succeeding reign, the accounts are given more in detail.

THE RECTORY OF ALL SAINTS.

	£	s.	d.
Profits of the book of Easter and Lenten offerings† ..	8	8	3
From the "purifying" of women	0	13	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
From marriages	1	7	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
From burials	0	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
From Small Tithes, as appears by the book of John Brightwen† collector of the same	0	12	8
	£11	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$

* Ministers Accounts 29-30 Henry VIII. No. 104, M. 48.

† The most important of the oblations was the Easter or Lent offering. It is spoken of in various ways:—"Decimæ personaliæ vocatæ Lenten Booke," "Decimæ personaliæ vocatæ le Estre Booke," "In libro Paschali," "In Rotulo Paschali," "In Rotulo Quadragesimali," "Lent Decimæ," and "Oblations in Pasch."

‡ John Brightwen, chandler and ironmonger, was chamberlain of

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
To the Archdeacon for Procurations and Sinodals ..	0	9	6½
He owes 27s. 11d. which is allowed, to the same			
John Brightwen for bread, wine, wax, oil (oleo chris mat.) and other necessaries in the church by him bought and provided.. .. .	1	7	11
With 6s. towards buying the Paraphrase of Erasmus, to be placed in the said church according to the tenor and effect of the King's Injunctions	0	6	0
Salaries or Stipends. To Thomas Malorie, clerk, vicar of All Saints	13	6	8
And 35s. to John Harvey and William Suckere, secondary clerks.. .. .	1	15	0
	<hr/>		
	£17	5	1½*

In the next reign the details are somewhat different.

RECTORY OF ALL SAINTS.

[RECEIPTS.]	£	s.	d.
From Purification of women.. .. .		vij.	v.
Marriages			xix.
Tithes of Pigs		vij.	iiij.
Deaths			j.
Christmas			xx.
Oblations on the 4 principal days†		xxj.	j.
Easter offerings		lxij.	vj.
Small Tithes	iiij.	ij.	ix.
	total	ix.	iiij.
			v.
[EXPENDITURE.]			
Necessary expenses, bread, wine, and wax and other things in same church as per bill of particulars	£	s.	d.
		xxxvj.	viiij.
Payments To Francis Savage, receiver there on two separate occasions:—			
By the hand of John Brightwen, collector	vj.	ix.	j.
And the other by the hand of Humphry Brooke†	xvi.	xiiij.	iiij.
	total	xxiiij.	v. §

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Mayor and Corporation took steps for the augmentation of the living of All Saints. On October 23rd, 1572, Aldermen Brian and Manley, Mr. Richard Watts, and others were appointed "Sessors for the wages of a preacher and a

Northampton in 1554 and bailiff in 1555.

* Ministers' Accounts, 1-2 Ed. VI. No. 34. M. 5d.

† Plough-aims were paid fifteen days after Easter; the tithe of young at Pentecost; fruits of the earth at All Saints; and Church Scot at Martinmas.

‡ Humphrey Brooke was bailiff of St. Andrew's.

§ Ministers' Accounts, 1 and 2, 2 and 3, Philip and Mary, No. 27.

mynister in All Hallowes to preache and teache." In 1584, three aldermen, Mr. Balgay, Mr. Hensman, and Mr. Raynsford, were sent as a deputation to the Privy Council "touchinge the gettinge of a mynister."* In 1597 the Assembly voted £30 a year (to be raised by a yearly rate on all parishioners) in order to augment the value of the living.

In 1617 the vicar's income was once more increased. It was agreed by the Assembly that Mr. Lewis, the incumbent, "for his paines in his ministrie within this towne . . . and whereas the vicaridge of All Saints here whereof the saide Mr. Lewis is nowe viccar is but of a small value to maintayne a mynister, It is also agreed and ordered in respecte thereof, as also of the love the Corporation beareth the saide Mr. Lewis, and his care and paynes taking amongst us in his function, that he shall have yearely paid to him out of the chamber stocke the sum of xx^{li} namely v^{li} a quarter besides the rents and profits belonging to the saide viccaridge or parsonage, and also for his more convenient dwelling and habitation, it is agreed and ordered that he shall have and enjoye the messuage or tenement late in thoccupation of Mr. Robert Catelyn deceased, rent free soe longe as he continueth mynister in this parish, he performing sufficient repair to the same from time to time."†

In 1646 the Parliamentary committee concerning plundered ministers voted 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) per annum out of the fee-farm of the town (which had been paid in former years to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor) for the increase of the stipend of the minister of All Saints, and ordered the Mayor and Corporation to retain the said rent till further directions were given. On October 16th of that year, the Vestry "ordered that Mr. Francis Rishworth and Mr. Joseph Sargeant shall have allowed them xiiij^{li} for their charges in obtayning the one hundred marks a year from the Parliament to the minister of All Sts. out of the C marks now paid in, and Mr. Ball to have the rest besides C marks more nowe due towards his arrears."

Four years later, some dispute having arisen on the

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 397.

† Ibid. 398.

subject, the Assembly made the following order dated November 11th, 1650:—"It is agreed and ordered that Mr. Rishworth, Mr. Sargeant, and Mr. Whaley shall all of them repaire to London at the Towne's charges and indeavour as well to secure the C marks parcell of the fee farme Rent of that towne to the Minister of All Sts, the same having bene heretofore ordered and paid to him for the augmentation of his meanes, the same being besides but verie small, and to get an Act of Parliament for the rating of lands in the parish towards the raising of a bigger sum to ad to these C marks yearelie out of those monies to pay Mr. Ball yearelie C^{li} and a competent allowance to an assistant to him, as also to complaine of the great and unequall burden in taxes for the Armies by the Com^t of the Countie put upon the towne, and to get some redresse therein yf it may be."

The deputation were successful in their petition, and in 1652 the required Act or Order of Parliament was obtained.

The vicar of All Saints did not long enjoy this income, for on the restoration of the monarchy, the Dean and Chapter of Windsor were restored to their rights, among others the 100 marks of the fee-farm of Northampton granted to them by Edward III. in 1352.

The Assembly had also come to the assistance of the poorly paid vicars in another way. In mediæval times, the Pope had been accustomed to demand from the incumbent of every benefice the first year's income received by him, and an annual tax of one tenth of the income. At the Reformation, these payments, which were known as "first-fruits" and "tenths" were diverted from the Pope to the King. As may be imagined, these "first-fruits" were a heavy tax upon an incoming incumbent, and in 1596 the Assembly decided to become responsible for the payment, which at that date amounted to £19 16s. This was done in the first instance on behalf of Mr. Catelin, the new vicar, who was unable to pay the same "by reason of the smallness of the living and his great charge of household."

In 1629 it was resolved that the next vicar should be held clear of "first-fruits" and such like dues, but in spite of this resolution, the "firstfruits" were unpaid, and the Sheriff intervened. Accordingly, in 1634, it is recorded in the order book of the Assembly that whereas

“Mr. Thomas Ball, now Minister of All Saints, is now questioned by the sheriffe of this countie, whoe hath proces against him for firstfruits of Vicaridge of All Saints aforesaid being xxii^{li} or thereabouts, It is nowe agreed that the said Mr. Ball discharging the same first fruites for his quiett for the present shall have the same repaide him backe again out of the Chamber of this Corporation at the next feastes of Saint Michaell and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Marie by even portions.”*

In 1636 it was discovered by the authorities that the Corporation had also neglected to pay the annual “tenths” due from the living. £70 was claimed by the officers of the Exchequer, but eventually a compromise was arrived at, by which the Corporation paid £45.†

At the close of the seventeenth century the sources of the vicar’s income had changed somewhat, as may be seen from the following entry in the vestry book of 1669:—

1669.

For ye better preservacon of the Memory of such Lands, houses, and other dues as are at present knowne to belong to the Vicar of All Saints in the towne of Northampton, It is thought convenient by the joynt consent of Simon Ford, Doctor in Divinity, ye present vicar, and Robt. Ivory and Walter Stamford the late Churchwardens there and of John Atterbury and Walter Boddington, churchwardens for the tyme being, that a Schedule of the said particulars bee heere inserted, as followeth, vizt. :—

Imps. There is due to ye Vicar of All Saints aforesaid a Pension of Tenn pounds per Annu from His Mat ^{es} Exchequer, payable att Michaelmas by ye Receiver of his Mat ^{es} Revenues in the county of Northton, According to a Graunt of Queene Elizabeth	10	0	0
It. There is due a certaine Rate of howses according to the proportions paid tyme out of mind; and payable att Easter, in the parish church‡ of All S ^{ts} att the tolling of the Bell.. ..			Amount not Stated.

Personall Tythes or offerings, according to the proportion following then and there also payable.

	£	s.	d.
For a married couple	0	0	4
For a single man of 16 yeares of age	0	0	4
For a single woeman or maid being sixteen yeares of age..	0	0	3

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 399.

† Ibid. ii. 399.

‡ The money was paid in the chancel of All Saints as is shown by the following extract from the Vestry books:—“March 14th, 1670-1.—It is ordered and agreed that the Easter Dues be payd in the chauncell of All S^{ts} church as formerly.”

For every such person of either sex living with their parents and not maintainyn themselves, or receiveing wages (payable by the parente)	o	o	1
For every such apprentice payable by ye mastr or mistresse	o	o	1
It. for a mortuary for every person dying seized of an estate of 40li. within the parish	o	10	o
It. for marriage being solempnized in this Parish Church	o	5	o
It. for every marriage solempnized in any other church by Licence or otherwise, if either party be an inhabitant of this parish	o	2	6
It. for every churching if ye child live to be christned ..	o	o	7
It. for a churching if ye child dye before christning ..	o	o	1

Item there is belonging to ye Vicar aforesaid in lands and howses as followeth :—

	£	s.	d.
Imps a churchyard called St. Katherins now in the occupation of Salathiell Lovell, Esq., counsellor at Law ..	1	15	o
It. another churchyard called St. Maryes	1	10	o
It. an howse called the vicaridge howse and a parcell of ground annexed in St. Maries streete	1	o	o
It. another howse over against St. Maries churchyard lately the Guift of Mr. Thomas Martin	o	14	o
Three other howses	1	10	o
It. an howse leaning on ye North wall of ye church of All Saints	2	10	o
It. Widow Cocker holds a Tenement at ye West end of ye said churchyard	o	3	4
It. Another howse at the Northeast corner of the said churchyard of All Saints*	2	o	o

Inscribed
May 25th, 1669 by us

SIMON FORD, D.D., VICAR.
ROBERT IVORY,
WALTER STAMFORD,
JOHN ATTERBURY,
WALTER BODDINGTON.

After the great fire of 1675, a provision was made by Act of Parliament for levyng £100 in lieu of tithes, payable quarterly to the vicar of All Saints over and above all glebes, bequests, and other perquisites. This sum was assessed by the churchwardens and six or more parishioners nominated by the Mayor, upon all houses, shops, etc., within the parish, with power of distress in case of non-payment. Latterly the collection of the money led to such ill feeling that it has been dropped, save only in the case of those who pay voluntarily. It now brings in £35 per annum.

* The names of the tenants and term of their leases are given in each case.

In the early part of the last century [1823] the income of the vicar was as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Settled by Act of Parliament in lieu of Tithes	100	0	0
St. Catharine's churchyard annexed to the Vicarage	10	0	0
St. Mary's Churchyard	3	3	0
Rent of 2 tenements	3	15	0
From the Crown	10	0	0
Settled by Sir Edward Nicholls	30	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£156	18	0

At the present time [1901] the vicar receives two annual payments of £14 each—one from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and one from Queen Anne's Bounty, proceeding respectively from the proceeds of the sale of a small tenement in St. Mary's Street and some stables in St. Catharine's and from money paid by the Corporation of Northampton for a portion of the west side of All Saints churchyard sold in order to widen the Drapery.

The Vicarage House.

After the dissolution of the "college" in which the vicars of All Saints had resided for over a century, there seems to have been no vicarage house for some considerable time. During the incumbency of Jeremiah Lewis, however, in 1617, the Town Assembly agreed to pay the rent of the house in which the vicar then lived, and two years after his death in 1629, it was decided to retain the house lately occupied by Mr. Lewis as a rent-free vicarage for the vicar of All Saints, the Corporation paying to the hospital of St. Thomas a yearly rental of 40s. On August 17th of the same year it was further ordered by the Assembly that "a flore should be made over the hall of the house Mr. Ball elected Minister of All Saints is to come to, for a studie for him at the Chamber's charge."*

In 1822 the Assemply allowed the vicar of All Saints

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 399.

to exchange the parsonage house in Gold Street for one in Marefair.

In January, 1824, the Mayor and Corporation, as patrons of the living, decided to expend £1,000 in purchasing a house in Gold Street as a residence for the vicar of All Saints. Upon the appointment of Sydney Gedge as vicar this house was sold for about £1,500, and the present vicarage house in Waterloo was purchased by the late Lord Overstone (patron of the living), his lordship finding the purchase-money, less the £1,500 above referred to.

Notes on the Vicars.

I. *Thomas de Alencestria.* When compelled by Bishop Hugh Wells to appoint a vicar with a fixed stipend, the choice of the prior and convent of St. Andrew fell upon Thomas de Alencestria, a chaplain, who was accordingly instituted in 1227, but only held the living for three years.

II. *Robert Kolebois* was instituted to the living of All Saints in 1230. It appears that there was some dispute as to the endowment of the living, for the ordination of the vicarage is again specially recited in almost identical terms with that of 1227.

IV. *Adam.* Among the Harleian Charters in the British Museum, is one by which Robert Dandre, son of Alan Dandre, grants to the priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, 25s. 2d. in rents out of certain lands at Holcot. The charter is witnessed among others by Adam, vicar of the church of All Saints, Northampton; Luke, vicar of the church of St. Edmund; and Thomas de Northampton, chaplain of the church of St. Giles. The document is undated, but is pronounced by experts to be early in the reign of Henry III. (1216-1272).*

X. *William Eyndyng.* The terrible visitation of the plague known in history as the "Black Death" was raging in Northamptonshire in August, 1349, and it is very probable that the vicar of All Saints (Geoffrey Pope) fell a victim to it. This fact at least is certain, that the living was vacant at the beginning of August,

* Harleian Charters, 49 c. 6. There is a second copy of this charter in the same collection, 49 d. 11.

and that on the sixth of that month the King presented William Eyndyng to the benefice. There is no record of his institution in the episcopal registers at Lincoln, and it is very possible that (as happened in many instances in that eventful year) William Eyndyng himself died of the plague before he could obtain institution.

XI. *John Atte Brook*. The date of his appointment to All Saints is uncertain (? 1349), but in 1367 he exchanged with Roland Jokkes, vicar of Patteshull. He held this latter benefice for a short time only, for in 1370 (June 22nd) a new vicar of Patteshull was appointed.

XII. *Roland Jokkes* was instituted to the vicarage of Patteshull, July 6th, 1349, on the presentation of the prior of Dunstable. After holding this benefice for eighteen years, he exchanged with John Atte Brook, vicar of All Saints, Northampton.

XIII. *Richard de Tannesoric*. A priest of this name, (possibly the same as the vicar of All Saints) was appointed to the incumbency of Hale near Nassington (a chapel now fallen into ruin), by Johanna de Hale November 23rd, 1311. He continued to hold it till 1313.

XV. *Richard Bradan*. The Patent Rolls of 5 Richard II. contain the following entry with regard to this vicar:—"June 10th [1383]. Presentation of Richard Bradan, chaplain, to the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton, in the King's gift, by reason of the temporalities of the priory of St. Andrew being in the King's hands on account of the war with France."* There is no record of his institution in the episcopal registers.

XVIII. *William Breton, D.D.* was instituted to the living of All Saints July 31st, 1434, and held it till his death in 1471. In 1461, as has already been stated, he founded the college of All Saints. It is very possible that he was a member of the family of Breton of Teeton; at any rate he appears to have been a man of some consideration, for a certain John Mortimer, of Grendon, by his will dated 1453, August 4th, leaves "to William Breton, vicar of All Saints, in the town of Northampton

* Patent Rolls, 5 Richard II., part ii., memb. 8.

10 marks to mend the highways and bridges in Grendon." In the same year we find Dr. Breton associated with some of the principal gentry of the county in a deed relating to the transference of certain lands. The document in question is at the Public Record Office and is dated June 25, 31 Henry VI. It is a letter of attorney by John Talbot, Viscount de Lisle, William Lord Lovell, Knights; Henry Grene, Thomas Tresham, and Robert Catesby the elder, Esquires; William Bryten, vicar of All Saints, Northampton, and others, authorizing Edmund Newnham and Thomas Mettley to deliver to Sir William Catesby, Knight, and Joan his wife, full seisin of the manors of Grenburgh, Lodbrok in Grenburgh, and Lodbrok, the advowson of the church of Lodbrok with lands, etc. in Walcote, Wulscote, Grenburgh, and Lodbrok.*

XIX. *John Lumbery, S.T.P.*, was educated at Oxford. According to the system then in vogue, he "suppllicated" for the degree of B.A., February 20th, 1452-53, and "dispensed" May 11th, 1453. In 1459 he was elected to a fellowship at All Souls College.

XXII. *Hugh Melling* or *Myllyng* was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He took the degree of B.D. May 31st, 1510, and three years later—January 31st, 1512-13—that of D.D. In 1520 he was incorporated at Cambridge. In 1511 he was appointed to the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton, and held it for nineteen years, resigning in 1530. Between 1521 and 1531 he was also rector of Farthingstone, Northants. After leaving All Saints he appears to have resided at Towcester, for in his will (dated November 29th, 1531) he is described as "Hugh Melyng, christi sacerdos, of Towcester," and he leaves his body to be buried "in the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Towcester between the grave of Master William Halle, first master of the Chantry there, and the tomb of Master William Sponne." To John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, he leaves a book—*librum Fratris Dūmokk (?) contra Lolardos*; to the church of Farthingstone, a vestment of dornex, a small missal, a corporal with a wooden case with a picture of Christ upon it; also an imperfect

* Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office. A 4369.

Processionale, and a great and perfect *Portiforium*, in which all these gifts are written down; to the church of Fifield (Oxfordshire) he bequeaths a Breviary in two parts, which he had received as a present from Henry Brathwayt, rector there; and to William Ryche, vicar of Brayfield, a gown with a hood (*unam togam cum caputio*). His legacies to the church of All Saints, Northampton, have already been alluded to in chapter VII.

XXIII. *John Bell* was instituted to the living of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, December 19th, 1506, but resigned in 1530, on his appointment to the vicarage of All Saints. His name appears as a witness to the wills of many of the parishioners of All Saints and St. Sepulchre's. He held the living of All Saints till 1539.

XXIV. *Thomas Malery* was instituted to the living of All Saints in 1539, on the presentation of Vicar-General Cromwell. A copy of his will is preserved in the Northampton Probate Office. He bequeaths his body "to be buryede in the hye quere where as the stonnde and make holy watere on sondas [where the holy water is consecrated on Sundays] Item I bequeath to he hye altere wyth in my parish church xij^d. Item I wyll there shalbe daystrybute the day of my buryell amongyste prests clerks and pore peple forty shylyngs. Item I bequeth to Wyllyam Malerye my brother all my beddyng and napery ware all my Reymentt both typpets and cappys unbequethyde my bowe and harows and xx^s in money."

XXV. *William Ermysted*, after having taken the degree of M.A. abroad (*in partibus transmarinis*) was incorporated at Oxford, July 9th, 1527, "on condition of disputation and preaching in the church of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford." Five months later, according to the old phraseology, he "supplicated" for incorporation as B.D. in the University.

In 1533 Ermysted was presented to the rectory of Fryerning, in Essex, but after holding this preferment for fifteen months, he resigned, June 17th, 1534. In the following year he became vicar of Birstall, near Leeds, and in 1536 was presented to the rectory of Adel, which however he resigned in 1537. He was a benefactor to both Birstall and Leeds, for in each of these places he

founded, or aided in the foundation of a school. In June, 1539, he was collated to the Neasdon prebend of St. Paul's, London.

While a canon of S. Paul's, Ermysted appears to have quarrelled with the Dean, the chief subject of dispute being the ownership of certain manors belonging to the Dean and Chapter, the rents of which several deans in succession had illegally converted to their own use. The matter was referred to the Bishop of London (Bonner) who called in the Bishop of Bath and Wells, a former canon of St. Paul's, Sir John Tregonwell, Kt. and others as arbitrators, and a compromise was eventually arranged. Bishop Bonner accordingly, on February 15th, 1554, issued a decree setting forth the terms of the agreement, and calling upon "as well *Mr. John Feckenham, now Dean, as the said Mr. William Ermesteade and Mr. Gabriel Donne, Residentiaries," to "give a corporal oath upon the Evangelists, well and truly to observe and keep this our order, agreement, and mutual composition during their times."†

A few years later, in ‡Dean Cole's time, Ermystead, who is described as "an auncient Resident, from King Henry's time to Queen Marie and a lawier," again appealed to the Bishop against certain statutes drawn up at an earlier time by Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop Warham, and Fitz-James, bishop of London (1506-22), protesting that "they had never, so far as he knew, been observed by any of their predecessors."§

The result of this appeal does not appear.

About the same time that he was appointed to St. Paul's, Ermysted became also master of the Temple, and on the dissolution of the order of the Knights of St. John, shortly afterwards—1540, a special proviso was made in his favour :—"William Ermested, master of the Temple of London . . . is authorized to receive

* John Feckenham was elected dean March 10th, 1554; made abbot of Westminster by Queen Mary, November, 1556, when he resigned the deanery. He was deposed by Elizabeth, and handed over to the custody of the Bishop of Winchester.

† Simpson's *Registrum Statutorum ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, 264-72.

‡ Henry Cole was elected dean of St. Paul's December 11th, 1556, and deprived 1559.

§ Simpson's *Registrum Statutorum Sancti Pauli*, 419.

and enjoy, during his natural life, all such mansion houses, stipends and wages in as large and ample manner as ever he did before."* In his will he remembers his connection with the Temple, and bequeaths "to iij. Prests and one Clerke singing and serving in the Temple church, in London, to singe Placebo, Dirge, and Mass of Requiem for my Soule and all Xten Soules at the daye of my buriall, or as nighe that daye as they conveniently canne or maye, to every of them five, iij^s. iij^d. and to the clarke more ij^s. to hyer ringers to ringe the belles there."

On February 11th, 1541-2, Canon Ermysted was presented by John Nevile, Lord Latimer, to the rectory of Kislingbury, Northants, which he continued to hold till his death in 1558.

About the year 1545 he was appointed one of the Masters in Chancery. On October 28th of the same year, he received further preferment, being appointed by the King to the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton, which, however, he resigned, after a vicariate of only two years, December 14th, 1547.

In the following year he founded a grammar school at Skipton-in-Craven, Yorkshire. The charter of foundation is dated September 1st, 1548, and contains, among others, the following interesting provisions:—

That there shall be one master.

That the said master shall be a chaplain or priest, and that he and his successors shall teach the boys the alphabet according to the proper pronunciation of syllables, and shall afterwards proceed in order in the grammar art and the rudiments thereof, with the frequent use in the Latin tongue, according to their capacities, from the advanced scholars, and that they compose epistles, orations, and verses.

That the said chaplain, immediately after entering the school, shall say the Psalm, *Misereve mei Deus* which he shall not omit under the penalty of 20d. for each day; and if he shall wilfully omit daily for a month, he shall be removed. That the said chaplain shall be personally present in the parish church of Skipton every Sunday and feast day when there shall be service.

That the chaplain, if thereto disposed, and he shall not be hindered by any reasonable cause, shall celebrate in the said church on Sundays and feast days, and three days in every week, before seven in the morning.

That he shall not absent himself from the said church and school above

* A book in the Public Record Office containing a list of payments by the Treasurer of Augmentations, has the following entry under November 15th, 1541:—"Wm. Ermysted, Master of the Temple in London, half a year's wages of himself, 4 chaplains, and a clerk, serving in the said church, £18 13s. 4d."

twenty days at one time or several in any year, under the penalty for the first offence, of 20s. ; then 30s. ; and for the third, removal from his office.*

On the accession of Queen Mary, Canon Ermysted was appointed one of her chaplains, and in the following year, she added to his other preferments, a canonry of Windsor. The patent is dated June 20th, 1554, and is "in favour of our beloved chaplain, William Ermedest, Bachelor of Divinity." The preferment is described as "the canonry and prebend in our college of the blessed Mary and St. George the Martyr, near our castle of Windsor, now vacant by the resignation of Nicholas Udall, clerk, and subject to our appointment and gift, the canonry and prebend aforesaid, with all their rights and appurtenances, to be had, held, and enjoyed by the aforesaid William Ermedest during his life, in as ample mode and form as Nicholas Udall lately had and enjoyed the same."

Four years later, Ermysted died at his little country rectory of Kislingbury, October, 1558, and was there buried. The Kislingbury parish register thus records his interment :—

Willm Ermedest (parson) was buried the last day of October, 1558.

No monument now remains to his memory, though by his will he left 40s. "for one Epitaphe to be sett in a stone uppon my grave."†

The will of William Ermysted, a copy of which is preserved at Somerset House, is an exceedingly interesting one. It begins in the following somewhat unusual way :—

For as muche as most certen it is that every mane is mortall and subiecte unto deathe, and the tyme and houer of deathe is to mane most unc'tayn, therefore as me semethe it is the poynte and also the dewtie of a X'yen mane to forese and p'vent all those things that myght in any wyse tro'ble, desquiet, or occupye the mynde of man, Especially when dethe wth his unvoydable dart shall approche and assaulte hym, so that then he may holly fyx and fasten his mynde and holly and only be occupyed and myndfull of the most excelent mercy and goodnes of Gode w^{ch} he hathe shewed unto all mankynde, and especiallye unto truly repenting Synns through the deathe and most pious bloude of his derly beloved sonn Chryst Jesus, y^e Redem. and Saviour, and for as muche as the ordering and disposition of vyle and transetory thinges whoo use God of his singler

* Dawson's *History of Skipton*, 334-5.

† *Ibid.* 224-230.

goodness graunted unto Man for a tyme doth trouble and desquiet, being deferred unto the latter tyme, the minde and soule of mane that it cannot interlye and holly then thinck and fullye call upon Godes most hyghe benifyts and infinite Mercy, wherein he ought most chefly to be myndfull of and to take most cumfort and consolacon in them, Wherefor being at this tyme, that is the xxijth daye of December in the yere of o^r Lord God 1556 and in the iij. and iiij. yere of the Reigne of Kyng Phillipe and Quene Mary, I William Ermsted, clarke, of good and quiet mynde and helthe of body, rendering to God's honor and glory most high and bountyfull thanks for the same do make and ordeyn this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following: Fyrst, I do bequethe and most hartely commend and give my Soule unto Almighty God, the Father of all consolacon and Creator of all things visyble and invisible, which hathe given most mercifullye only by his m^cy grace and favour his most derly beloved sonne Jesus Christ even unto dethe of the Cross for the redempcon and eternal Salvacon of all mankynd, And to my Sav^r Jesus Christ, bothe Gode and mane, for he is the very treu Saveur and Lord of it, for by his most bytter and paynfull dethe he hathe most justly purchased and delivered it from the captivitie of the divell, deathe, and hell, so that I ame not myne owne but ame his bothe body and sowlle, and in hym and by hym I do beleve by Gode's m^cy at the great daye of his judgment to obtayne the glory of Gode and eternall lyf bothe Soul and bodye. And to the Holy Gost God eternall, equal wth the Father and to the Sonne, Graunter and giver of all divine and godly gyfts, the Cumforter of the weacke and feble in all adversities and tribulacons. Also I comytt my Soule unto the blessed Virgin Marye, Mother of Christe, both God and mane, the chosen and elected Vessell for that purpas by God's eternall p'destinacon, and to the blessed and glorious Company of Angells, to the holly Patriarchs and prophettes, Apostells, Martyrs, Confessors, and virgins, most humbly beseching Almighty God throughe the p'cious and most meritorious deathe of Christ that they wth me and I wth them maye bothe bodye and Soule after the last daye come unto the to have and enjoye the inestimable and incompriensibill fruicon and sight of his immortal Magestie and divine god hede.

He leaves his body to be buried

Wthn the Parrishe Churche wher it shall please Gode to take me to his Mercy from this transetory lyf unto the lyf of his Kingdom w^{ch} never shall have ende. And if I do departe this transetory lyf wthn the citie of London, then I will my body to be buried wthn the Cathedrall Churche of St. Paule in London, wthn the chappell of Saynt Katherin there. And for my grave ther I do bequethe unto the Deane and Chapter xls. and for one Epitaphe to be sett in a stone uppon my grave xls. I will that at my buriall be sonnge and sayed Placebo, dirge, and Masse of Requiem and all other suffrages and prayers for the deade as the Catholique Churche dothe use, and for that I do bequethe to the Ministers ther in St. Pauls Churche viijli. to be distributed amongne the Petti Cannons, Vicares, Choristers, Vergers, and others, at the discrecon of myn executors, at the daye of my buriall iiijli. and at the monethes day iiijli. of the said viiiij. Item, I will that there be a Sermonde preached at my buriall, and the precher to have xxs. for his labour. Item, I bequethe unto iiij. poor men iiij. black gowns to accompany my bodye to the Churche and to helpe to bere my corpes, and to houlde iiij gret tapers of wax, each to way 6 lbs.

It was specially stipulated by the testator that these great tapers were to burn at *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and *Mass*

of Requiem, both on the day of his burial and at the month's end. He leaves £5 for a dinner on the day of his burial for master dean, the canons, petti-canons, vicars, vergers, and choristers; 13s. 4d. to the dean to be present at Dirge and Mass, and 6s. 8d. to each canon who should be present. His legacy to the Temple church has already been alluded to. He did not forget the little village where his latter days were passed, but left "to the Prest that shall be my successor and person of the Rectory of Kyslyngebury for delapidacons if there be any found there, xl^s. and my best fether-bede w^t the boulder, coveryng, blanketts, sheetes, and bede stede w^t the appurtennce therto belonging, and if he will not be contentyd herewtall then to have no penney nor halfpenny."

After several minor bequests to executors, servants, etc., Ermysted leaves the residue of his property "to poor scholars at Oxford to help them in their learning."

This interesting will was proved on March 24th, 1558-9.*

XXVIII. *Ralph Persall* alias *Sutton*. Of this vicar nothing is known save that a copy of his will is to be found in the Northampton Probate Office. It begins as follows:—"In dei nomine Amen, the xxvth daie of Aprill in the yere of o^r lord god MV^oLIX, I Raphe Persall otherwise Sutton in the countie towne of Northampton in the countie of Northampton clerk, vicar of the pisshe of All Saints there, sicke in bodie," etc. He leaves his body to be buried "in the pisshe churche yard of All Saints aforesaid." To Martin Adams he bequeaths his Latin Bible. The other bequests are of no interest. This will was proved July 2nd, 1560.

XXXI. *William Jennings* was instituted on December 19th, 1578, but his sojourn at Northampton seems to have been a chequered one. His troubles with the authorities have been fully recorded in a preceding chapter. He resigned the living of All Saints in 1583, but was allowed by the bishop to rescind his resignation. In 1584 he again resigned or was deprived, and was succeeded on August 14th of that year by John Johnson, M.A.

* Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 50 Welles.

XXXII. *John Johnson*. "Mr. John Johnson, parson of All Saynts" is one of the witnesses to the will of Simon Story of Northampton, February 1st, 1586-7. He was vicar of All Saints from August 14th, 1584, to 1589, when he resigned. It seems probable on the whole that he is identical with "Mr. Johnson of Northampton" mentioned by Fuller in his *Church History of Britain*.* If such was the case, this vicar of All Saints was an ardent Puritan and a promoter of the system of "classes" alluded to (p. 114) in a preceding chapter. In 1591, Thomas Stone, parson of Warkton, a member of the Northampton "classis," when interrogated by the Court of Star Chamber declared that the "classis" sometimes met at the house of Mr. Johnson. When asked whether at the meetings "any censures were exercised, what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, for what cause?" he replied that he never saw any censure exercised saving admonition once upon Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for miscarrying himself in his conversation to the scandal of his calling; neither was that used with any kind of authority, but by a voluntary yielding unto it, and approving of it, as well in him that was admonished, as in him who did admonish."

XXXIV. *Robert Catlyn* became vicar of All Saints in 1596, on the presentation of Queen Elizabeth. He was evidently a poor man with a large family, for the Corporation, in consideration of "the pains that Mr. Catelin takes with his preaching" decided in May, 1596, to pay four several sums £4 19s. due for firstfruits of the parsonage of All Saints to Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer. It was further stated that this generous course was adopted on behalf of the vicar because he was unable himself to pay the same "by reason of the smallness of the living and his great charge of housholde."†

In 1599, in an order passed by the Assembly for checking the use of the commons by the unenfranchised, it was provided that "Mr. Robert Catlyn, now minister of All Sainctes shall have commons and depasturing of and for one cowe and one nagge, gelding or mare."‡

He appears to have resigned or been deprived of

* Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, book ix., section vii., 39.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii., 397-8.

‡ Ibid. 217

the living in 1613, for the episcopal registers at Peterborough contain the following entry with regard to the appointment of his successor, David Owen :—

On the 14th day of January, 1613-4, the Reverend Father in Christ, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, instituted a certain David Owen, Clerk, B.C.L., to the Rectory of All Saints and St. Gregory, in the town of Northampton, on the presentation of the most noble lord James, by the Grace of God, King of England, etc., Defender of the Faith, true and undoubted patron of the same Rectory (as he asserts), vacant by the deprivation of the last incumbent there, or in some other way void (per deprivationem ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vel alio quocumque modo vacante).

On July 30th, 1616, Robert Catlyn was instituted to the rectory of Wootton, near Northampton, on the presentation of Sir William Tate, but after an incumbency of less than four months he died, and was buried at All Saints, where his death is thus recorded in the parish registers :—

Mr. Robert Catelin sepult fuit xxv^o die [November, 1616].

XXXV. *David Owen* was educated at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1598. In 1602 he proceeded to the degree of M.A., and was elected a Fellow of Clare Hall. In June, 1608, he was incorporated at Oxford, where he was admitted successively to the degrees of B.D. in 1609, and D.D. in 1618. He was chaplain to John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness. In 1598, he was instituted to the rectory of Yardley Hastings, and to the vicarage of Preston Deanery, and from 1614 to 1616 he held the living of All Saints, Northampton. The year before his death he was instituted to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton (1622), but died at Preston Deanery, where he was buried July 29th, 1623.

XXXVI. *Jeremiah Lewis* was instituted to the living of All Saints March 8th, 1615-6, on the presentation of King James I. He appears to have won the esteem and affection of his people, if we may judge from an entry in the Book of Assembly dated 1617 :—

It is also ordered in respecte thereof, as also of the love the Corporation beareth the saide Mr. Lewis, and his care and paynes taking amongst us in his function that he shall have yearely paid to him out of the Chamber stock the summe of xxli. . . . and also for his more convenient dwelling and habitation it is agreed and ordered that he shall have and enjoye the

message or tenement late in the occupation of Mr. Robert Catelyn, deceased, rent free soe long as he continueth mynister in this parish, he performing sufficient repair to the same from time to time.*

Ten years later his health failed, and we find the following entry in the Book of Assembly:—

It was ordered that Mr. Lewis, mynister of All Saints, whoe lyeth now in London for means of cure to his distress shall have x^{li}. sent him out of the towne chamber as a gratuitie to help him in his charge.

He died in February and was buried at All Saints. His death is thus recorded in the parish register:—

Jeremiah Lewes clerke sepult. fuit ix. die [February, 1627-8].

His successor, Edward Reynolds, was instituted January 8th of the same year, from which we infer that Mr. Lewis resigned the living shortly before his death.

XXXVII. *Edward Reynolds*. The most noteworthy of the many vicars of All Saints was, without doubt, the celebrated Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He was the son of Augustine Reynolds (a Southampton merchant) and Bridget, his wife, and was born November, 1599. He was educated at the grammar school of Southampton, and from thence was elected to a Post-Mastership at Merton College, Oxford, in 1615. He went into residence and matriculated January 26th, 1615-16, took the degree of B.A., October 15th, 1618, and was elected to a Fellowship in 1619, "in which place—which he got by his skill in the Greek tongue—as also throughout his bachelorship, he showed himself a good disputant and orator." After taking his M.A. degree, he received holy orders and became a noted preacher, "though of a hoarse voice." His first preferment was the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton, which he obtained 1627-8 and resigned November, 1629. In March, 1630-1, he was instituted to the rectory of Braunston, near Daventry, on the presentation of Isaac Johnson, Esq.

In 1638 he published a sermon "touching the peace and edification of the church," delivered at an episcopal visitation at Daventry, and was about the same time appointed preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. On

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 398.

the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, he sided with the Presbyterian party "having long before that time been puritanically affected." In the following year he became a leading member of the Assembly of divines, convened by Parliament at Westminster for the government and reformation of the national religion, and subsequently took the Solemn League and Covenant against Prelacy. In 1646 he was one of the six ministers appointed by Parliament "to go to and settle in Oxford to preach the scholars into obedience." In 1648 (April 12th) he was created D.D. in convocation, and on the ejection of Dr. Samuel Fell, he became dean of Christchurch and vice-chancellor of the University. In 1650, however, he was himself ejected from the Deanery for refusing to sign the engagement imposed by the Independent party.

For the next few years he divided his residence between his two livings of Braunston and St Lawrence Jury, in London, and in October, 1658, was deputed by the London ministers to present their congratulatory address to Richard Cromwell on his accession to the Protectorate. When, soon afterwards, the tide of affairs turned, Reynolds exerted his powerful influence with his brethren* and the city to promote the measures adopted by General Monck for the restoration of the Monarchy. "The King, on assuming the government, issued a declaration for liberty of conscience and evinced a disposition to win over the Presbyterians by appointing Dr. Reynolds, Calamy, and eight other of their leading divines, chaplains-in-ordinary, and sanctioning the Savoy conference for effecting a coalition with the Church. Pending this negotiation, which ultimately failed, offers of considerable preferment were made to them, but they all declined except Edward Reynolds, who accepted the see of Norwich, and was consecrated January 6th, 1660-1."

When the excluded members had been restored to their seats in the Long Parliament, they had re-appointed Dr. Reynolds to the Deanery of Christchurch, March 11th, 1659-60 "with hopes to continue there and carry on the Presbyterian discipline," but three months later he was once more deprived of the Deanery, to make way for Dr. Morley. As a partial compensation for this, he

* Wood calls him "the pride and glory of the Presbyterian party."

was next month elected, by virtue of the King's letter, warden of his old college of Merton, which, however, together with his two parochial benefices, he resigned shortly after, on his appointment to the bishopric of Norwich.

Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* gives us the following estimate of his character :—" He was a person of excellent parts and endowments, of a very good wit, fancy, and judgment, a great divine, and much esteemed by all parties for his preaching and florid style. A writer (Dr. Pierce) of another persuasion tells us that he was a person of great authority as well as fame among the men of the Calvinistical persuasion, etc., and many there were that were of the like opinion. One that knew him well saith that he was a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, of great learning, a frequent preacher, and constant resident. And it was verily thought by his contemporaries that he would never have been given to change, had it not been to please a covetous and politic consort who put him upon those things he did. At length this learned Bishop made his last change in this world on the 28th of July, 1676, and was buried in the upper end of the chapel (built by him in 1662) joyning to the Bishop's palace at Norwich."*

Over his tomb was the following inscription :—

H.I.S.I. Edoardus Reynolds S.T.P. primus à reditu Regis Caroli ii felicissimo Norvicencis episcopus, quod honoris fastigium uti minime ambivit, ita pietate, prudentiâ, comitate, modestiâ, loco, non animo elatus, maxime condecoravit. Pastorum merentium pater amantissimus, pacis pietatisque cultor devotissimus, potestatis arbiter æquus et mitissimus. Quantus fuerit Theologus tam multifaria lectione instructus, quam S. Scripturis potens, quam felix eorundem interpres et fidelis Praeco, silente hoc marmore, scripta eloquuntur, caput eruditum os facundum, cor coeleste spirantia, expirante auctore suavissimo ; cui nihil inerat duri aut acerbi præter calculi stranguriaeque cruciatus, quos christiana, adeo atque invicta tulit fide et patientia ut albi lapilli. licet mortis instrumenta tessera forent vitae et victoriae, immortalibus ascriptus est, Jul xxix. A.D. 1676. Aetatis suae 76. Mortalitatís exuviae prope hinc depositae Augusti ix. sacellum hoc ab ipso fundatum, dicatumque, denuo consecrarunt.

Dr. Reynolds married Mary, daughter of Dr. John Harding, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, by whom he had several children.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii., 1083.

Mrs. Reynolds was a considerable benefactor to the church of All Saints, to which, after the fire of 1675, she presented a handsome set of communion plate. She died September 27th, 1683, and was buried at St. Peter's.

Their son Edward, also a Doctor of Divinity, was rector of St. Peter's, Northampton, 1658, prebendary of Worcester, 1660; archdeacon of Norfolk, 1661. He died June 28th, 1698. There is a tablet to his memory in Kingsthorpe Church, Northants.

Their youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married Dr. Conant, who in 1671 succeeded to the vicarage of All Saints.

Bishop Reynolds' chief works were as follows:—

“The vanity of the Creature” on Eccles. i. 4.

“Sinfulness of Sin” on Rom. vii. 9 and vi. 12.

“Use of the Law” on Rom. vii. 13.

“Life of Christ” on 1 Joh. v. 12.

“An Explication of cx. Psal.”

“Meditations on the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Last Supper.”

“Explication of the xiv. chapter of Hosea, in Seven Humiliation Sermons.”

“Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man.”

“Thirty Sermons preached on several occasions (between 1634 and 1676).”

He is also said to have been the author of “The Humble Proposals of sundry Learned Pious Divines within this Kingdom concerning the Engagement intended to be imposed on them for their Subscriptions. London, 1650.” [Wood's *Athenæ Ox.*]

He was author of the “General Thanksgiving” in the Book of Common Prayer.

XXXVIII. *Thomas Ball* was born at Aberbury in Shropshire, in 1590, his parents being described as “of good and honest report, knowing neither superfluity nor want.” From his earliest years he showed a natural propensity for learning and is noticed for his “constant and unconstrained industry about his book.” “And when upon his father's second marriage, his mother-in-law, being something soure, denyed him the benefit of a candle for his study, he did often make use of that light

which our children call God's candle, that is the moon, and by the free reflection of those beams (his eyes being young and good) prepared his dictates and exercises to his master's great contentment."

When quite young he was appointed to an ushership in the then famous school of Mr. Puller at Epping, in Essex, where he remained for two years. In 1615 he was sent to Cambridge and entered at Queen's College, under the celebrated Dr. Preston. At first he attracted little notice, but one night, after the Doctor had been lecturing to his pupils on the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, Ball, who was not satisfied with his arguments, presumed, though only a freshman, to stay behind in his room after the others had gone, and there put his difficulties so modestly and ingenuously that the lecturer became deeply interested in him, and from that time the two men were fast friends.

When Dr. Preston was chosen Master of Emmanuel College, he took Ball with him, "perceiving his growing parts." It was doubtless through the influence of the Master, that Ball was soon afterwards elected a fellow of Emmanuel, and we are told that "ever after [Dr. Preston] esteemed him not onely as his beloved pupil, but as his bosome friend and most intimately private familiar." His biographer tells us further that while he was at Emmanuel "his learned determinations in the colledge, his elaborate common-places in the chapel, his solid exercises in the schools, his well-studied sermons at St. Marie's, his visible yet prudentially invisible government of the colledge, his almost incredible multitude of pupils, and his indefatigable pains in a faithful discharge of the high trust of their education, did loudly proclaim him a man of vast parts and of singular excellency."

His fame reached Northampton, and in 1629, on the resignation of Dr. Reynolds, the Corporation offered him the vicarage of All Saints. He was very reluctant to leave Cambridge, but on the advice of his friends, he at length consented to accept the living. During the terrible visitation of the plague in 1638, Ball remained at his post and ministered to the people of All Saints, preaching every Sunday, "notwithstanding the great Mortality amongst them and the known infection of that disease."

His Puritan leanings brought him into trouble with the authorities in 1640, as has already been related in a preceding chapter. When the Civil War broke out two years later, his influence was so great in Northampton and his shrewdness so much appreciated, that the "Honourable Committee, then residing in the town transacted little of greatest concernment without his advice."

He appears to have been an indefatigable preacher, for his biographer tells us that "he himself preached the Weekly Lecture for the space of twenty-seven years or thereabouts, notwithstanding his preaching on the Lord's Day and his many other Occasional Sermons. It is true he had a Conduit within him, but it must needs waste his Vitals and weaken his Voice to turn the Cock so often!"

In 1655 he was deputed by his brother clergy to compose a tract "concerning the Gospel authority of Ministers and the necessity of Ordination to constitute a lawful minister of Jesus Christ." It was entitled "*Pastorum Propugnaculum; or, the Pulpit's Patronage against the Force of Unordained Usurpations and Violence.*" By Thos. Ball, sometime Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, now Minister of the Gospel in Northampton, at the Request and by the advice of very many of his neighbour Ministers. London, 1656."

It has been described by a modern writer as a noticeable book, full of out of the way learning like Burton's *Anatomie of Melancholy*, and in its quaint sayings and stories is equal to Fuller at his best. As a defence of the Church of England, however, it takes comparatively low ground. The author simply contents himself with vindicating the reasonableness and scripturalness of ordination and the necessity of adequate learning.

In 1658 his powers began to fail, and on May 3rd of that year the Vestry deputed two of the aldermen "to goe to Oxford with a letter of invite to Mr. Hickman to be an assistant to Mr. Ball." They were empowered "in the name of the parishe to proffer him one hundred pounds per annum for his paines." On January 17th, 1658-9, Ball agreed to resign the living on a life pension of 100 marks, as soon as a successor should be appointed. Simon Ford was shortly afterwards elected,

and in April came into residence.* Ball only survived his resignation for a few weeks. He died in June, 1659, aged 69, and was buried at All Saints, his funeral sermon being preached by his neighbour, John Howes, rector of Abington. It was published under the title of "Real Comforts," and included notes on his life. A copy of this now rare sermon is in the possession of Mr. Crick of Northampton. The title page is as follows:—

REAL COMFORTS

extracted from
Moral and Spiritual
Principles.

Presented in
A SERMON

Preached at the Funeral of that Re-
verend Divine Mr. Thomas Ball
Late Minister of God's Word at Northampton
upon the 21 day of June, A.D. 1659.

With a Narrative of his Life and Death.

By John Howes, M.A., Rector of Abing-
ton near Northampton.

London :

Printed by S. Griffin for R. Royston, and are to [be]
sold at the Angel in Ivy-lane, 1660.

Ball was thrice married and had a large family. Several of his children were baptized at All Saints—Elizabeth, February 3rd, 1630-1; Ruth, September 4th, 1634; Jane, July 27th, 1641; Samuel, October 4th, 1642; Nathaniel and Martha, June 21st, 1644; Dorothy, March 3rd, 1645-6; Timothy, March 25th, 1649; and Joseph, October 28th, 1651.

The burial register of the parish records the interment of "Dorothy, wife of Thomas Ball, clerk" on June 10th, 1631; of "Joseph, son to Mr. Ball minister buried vijth day [February, 1654-5]." In June, 1659, "Tho. Ball, minnister of the parrish was buried ye 21st day"; and in January, 1659-60, "Mrs. Jane Ball, widdow, wife to Mr. Thomas Ball, minister of this Parish 28 years, was buried the 28th day."

* On April 18th, the Vestry ordered that "the goods and family of the said Mr. Ford shalbe removed [to Northampton] at the chardge of the parishe."

XXXIX *Simon Ford*, son of Richard Ford, was born at East Ogwell, near Newton Bushell, Devon, about the year 1619. He was educated at Exeter and Dorchester Grammar Schools, and matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, November 4th, 1636, aged 17. He was lineally related to Nicholas Wadham, founder of Wadham College, but failed to obtain a scholarship there. He proceeded to the degree of B.A. June 11th, 1640, and soon afterwards was expelled from the University on account of his strong Puritan leanings (*Wood's Fasti* ii., 147) and retired to London. In 1646, in the dedication of one of his sermons, he styles himself "minister of the Gospel at Puddle-toun in Dorcetsshire." When the Parliamentary visitors were sent to Oxford in 1647, Ford returned to the University and was received with much honour. He took the degree of M.A. December 12th, 1648, and was created B.D. "by dispensation of the delegates" * February 16th, 1649-50. His friend, Dr. Edward Reynolds, who had become dean of Christchurch, admitted him as a senior student of that college (1648) and he frequently preached at St. Mary's.

A sermon against the Independent oath called the Engagement, led to his removal from his studentship in 1651. He appears to have retired into the country and ministered to a congregation at Whitney, in Oxfordshire. In the same year, he became lecturer of Newington Green, London, and vicar of St. Lawrence's, Reading. At the latter place he engaged in much local controversy. In an assize sermon preached in 1654, he denounced the people of Reading for their support of extravagant religious views, and was called before the grand jury to explain his conduct ["The case of the town of Reading stated."] Two years later, a Quaker named Thomas Speed excited his anger. Accordingly, in 1656, Ford and another Reading clergyman—Christopher Fowler—published jointly *A Sober Answer to an Angry Epistle written in haste by T. Speed*, to which Speed replied in *The Guilty-covered Clergymen Unveiled*, 1656.

In 1659, on the resignation of Thomas Ball, Ford was invited by the Corporation of Northampton to succeed

* On January 12th, the delegates had decreed that the said Mr. Ford, sometime of Magdalen Hall, who had been expelled the University with great injury (as they said) should be restored with all academical honour imaginable, and that his grace be proposed for Bachelor of Divinity.

him as vicar of All Saints in that town. In the first instance he was appointed (April 18th) "to officiate for Mr. Ball" at an income of £120 per annum with a convenient house rent-free; but on the death of Thomas Ball, was definitely appointed minister in his stead (August 8th). On January 30th, 1660-1, he preached at All Saints against "the horrid actual murderers of Charles I." His relations with the town authorities do not appear to have been always very cordial, for we learn from Lee's MS. history that "in y^e y^r of our L^d 1663, Mr. Wm. Vaughan, May^r, upon Michaelmas Day the sermon was preached in St. Sepulchre's church and not in All Saints, as was the accustomed way, there being some difference between y^e May^r and Alderⁿ and Dr. Ford."*

Under 1670 this same MS. further records that "Dr. Ford was chose to be minister of Bridewell Chappell, London, and left y^e parrish of All Saints in this toun, not giving^g them a farewell sermon w^{ch} they expected. And Dr. Conant was unanimously chose in his room, refuseing to accept Aldermanbury, London, tho' it was freely offered to him."

The actual facts seem to have been these. Dr. Ford was chosen minister of Bridewell, London, March 30th, 1670, but resigned the post on becoming vicar of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, which he received (December 29th) from John Conant, in exchange for the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton. Failing health compelled him in 1676 to leave London, and he removed to the rectory of Old Swinford, Worcestershire, which was conferred on him by Thomas Foley, Esq., May 22nd of that year. He died at Old Swinford, April 7th, 1699, and was buried in the church. A small marble tablet was erected to his memory in that church. The inscription, now almost obliterated, was as follows:—

H.S.E. Simon Ford, S.T.P. Devoniensis, hujus ecclesiae per 22 Annos Rector, juxta Martham Stampe Redingensem Conjugem fidelissimam: Obit ille 7^o Aprilis 1699, anno aetatis octogesimo; obiit illa 13 Novemb. Anno Dni 1684.

Ford was twice married. The parish registers of All

* As a matter of fact he did not become Dr. Ford till June 21st, 1665, when he received the degree of D.D. at Oxford. In 1660 he had been appointed one of the King's chaplains.

Saints record the baptism of several of his children by his first wife, Ann, viz.: Simon, baptized December 6th, 1660; Frances, July 26th, 1662; Marie, December 24th, 1663; and Richard, November 16th, 1668; while the burial register of the same church records the interment of five of his children, viz.: an infant, December 3rd, 1659; Simon, February 20th, 1660-1; Frances, December 6th, 1662; Ann, February 21st, 1666-7; and Richard, November 16th, 1668. After settling in London, he obtained a licence (in which he is described as of Bridewell Precint), dated August 13th, 1672, to marry Martha Stampe of Reading. She predeceased him November 13th, 1684.

Dr. Ford was a prolific writer, and published more than twenty volumes, chiefly sermons.

The earliest of these "*The great interest of States and Kingdoms*, was dedicated to his friend and patron, Sir William Waller, Knt., and was published in 1646. In 1654, he published his famous Reading Assize sermon, under the title *Primitiæ Regiminis Davidici*, or *The First-fruits of David's Government*, etc. In the dedication he says "Surely, My Lord and Gentlemen, you that are sufficiently acquainted with the Yerburies, Chillenden's, Ives's and others of an inferior Order, whom it would be too much honour to name, seedsmen of the Devil, with whom this poor Town hath been perpetually pestered and poysoned, will, I doubt not, see cause for that tartnesse of application in the close, for which I have been sufficiently persecuted by the tongues of those who found their backs too tender to be rubbed."

In the same year, he printed a *Dialogue concerning the Practicall Use of Infant Baptisme* for the satisfaction of those who lay it aside altogether, or practise it coldly or slightly, because they know not of what advantage it is to a Christian practice.

Two years later was published his answer to Thomas Speed, already alluded to. The full title of this work was as follows:—

A Sober Answer To an angry Epistle, Directed to all the publick Teachers in this Nation, and prefixed to a Book called (By an Antiphrasis) Christs Innocency pleaded against the Cry of the Chief Priests. Written in hast By Thomas Speed, once a publick Teacher himself and since revolted from that calling to Merchandize, and of late grown a Merchant of Soules, trading subtilly for the Quakers in Bristol. Wherein the Jesuiticall Equivocations and subtle Insinuations, whereby he endeavours

secretly to infuse the whole Venome of Quaking Doctrines into un-discerning Readers, are discovered, a Catalogue of the true and genuine Doctrines of the Quakers is presented, and certaine Questions depending between us and them, candidly disputed. By Christopher Fowler and Simon Ford, Ministers of the Gospel in Reading."

Speed replied in a pamphlet entitled :—

The Guilty-Covered Clergyman Unveiled ; in a plain and Candid Reply unto Two Bundles of Wrath and Confusion wrapt up in one-and-twenty Sheets of Paper. The one written by Christopher Fowler and Simon Ford of Reading : The other by William Thomas of Ubley in Somersetshire. Wherein all their malicious Slanders and false Accusations, which they cast upon the Truth, are clean wash'd off ; Their weapons with which they war against the Lamb, broken over their own heads ; and they, with the rest of the Tyth-exacting Teachers, proved to be the great Incendiaries and Misleaders of these Nations. By Thomas Speed, a Friend to all that tremble at the word of the Lord, etc. London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle, at the West End of Pauls, 1657.

After his removal to Northampton, Ford fell foul of another Quaker,* who in 1662 issued a tract against him. It was entitled :—

A few Quaeries to Simon Ford, Priest at the Town of Northampton. By Daniel Wills. London, printed for Robert Wilson.

The great fire of London called forth a poetical effusion from Dr. Ford, which went through no less than four editions, first in Latin and afterwards in English.

In 1676, after the destruction of Northampton in the previous year, Ford was the author of "Carmen Funebrae ex Occasione Northamptonae Conflagratae Compositum." This was translated in the following year, and published under the following title :—

The Fall and Funeral of Northampton in an Elegy. late Published in Latin by the Reverend Dr. S. Ford, since made English with some Variation and enlarged. By F.A.M.A. A Sad Spectator of that Frightful scene. London, 1677.

The destruction of the church of All Saints is thus described :—

A spacious Church there stood, on middle ground,
With Noblest Streets encompassed round :
This their Asylum ; thither all do carry
Their choicest things for sanctuary :

* The disturbances made by the Quakers at All Saints during Ford's incumbency have already been alluded to, p. 143.

Rich Wares, and richer Books : and Treasure
 Would here, or nowhere be secure.
 But loe ! from Horns o' th' Altar they are snatch'd
 By Sacreligious Fire attach'd !
 Things Sacred, things Profane, are all become
 To th' greedy Flames an Heccatomb !
 O ! pray not, then, to Saints ! O ! never swerve !
All Saints themselves could not preserve !
 This goodly Fabrick, as a thing forlorn
 In pensive widow-hood doth mourn ?
 Like Sheep dispers'd, and scattered here and there,
 Her frequent, solemn Meetings are
 Frequented, in her yet remaining Towers,
 By screech owls hoarse at midnight hours !
 There leave her still (no help, alas !), we must—
 Down sunk and buried in her dust.*

Whilst at Northampton, Dr. Ford published four sermons, each with a Greek title. The first was :—

Παραλληλα ; or the Loyall Subjects Exultation for the Royall Exiles Restauration. In the Parralel of K. David and Mephiboseth on the one side ; and Our Gracious Sovereign, K. Charls, and his loving subjects on the other. Set forth in A Sermon preached at All Saints Church in Northampton, June 28th, 1660. Being the day appointed for Solemn Thanksgiving for his Royal Majesties happy Restitution."

It has been supposed that the publication of this sermon gained for Ford a royal chaplaincy, for in his next work he is described as chaplain to his majesty.

This sermon has the following title :—

Παραλληλα δυσπαραλληλα ; or the Loyall Subjects Indignation for his Royal Sovereign's Decollation ; expressed in an Unparallell'd Parallel between the Professed Murtherer of K. Saul, and the Horrid actual Murtherers of K. Charles I. The Substance was delivered in a Sermon preached at Allhallows Church in Northampton on (the Day appointed for an Anniversary Humiliation in reference to that Execrable Fact) January 30th, 1660. By Simon Ford, Minister there and Chaplain to his Majesty.

This sermon was followed by :—

Ἡσυχία χριστιανύου ; or a Christian's Acquiescence in all the Products of Divine Providence : Opened in a Sermon preached at Cottesbrook in Northampton-shire, April the 16th, 1664. At the Interment of the Right Honourable and Eminently Pious Lady the Lady Elizabeth Langham, wife to Sir James Langham, Kt. By Simon Ford, B.D. and Minister of God's Word in Northampton. London, 1665.

In the same year he printed :—

Θαυμάσια κυριου εν βυθω ; or the Lord's Wonders in the Deep. Being a Sermon preached at the time of the Publique Assizes at Allhallows in

* Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, vol. v. part xl., p. 253.

Northampton, July 4th, 1665. Being the day appointed for Solemne Thanksgiving for the late remarkable Victory obtained against the Dutch by the Royall Navy under the conduct of his Royall Highnesse. And published at the speciall Instance of his Majesties Reverend Judges and the High Sheriffe of that county. By Simon Ford, D.D., Chaplaine to his Majesty and Minister there." Oxford, 1665.

In 1678 appeared a curious pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Ford entitled :—

A Discourse concerning God's Judgments; Resolving many weighty Questions and Cases relating to them. Preached (for the substance of it) at Old Swinford in Worcestershire (And Now Published to accompany the Annexed Narrative concerning the Man whose Hands and Legs lately Rotted off in the neighbouring Parish of Kings-Swinford in Staffordshire, Penned by another Authour). By Simon Ford, D.D. and Rector of Old Swinford. London, 1678.

John Duncalf was the name of the victim, and he received "the very Punishment he wished might befall him if he had committed a certain Theft with which he was charged."

Dr. Ford's other works include :—

"A Plain and Profitable Exposition of and Enlargement upon the Church Catechism," 1684.

"A New Version of the Psalms of David," 1686.

"Baptism for the Dead" 1692.

"The Restoring of Fallen Brethren, containing the substance of Two Sermons on Gal. vi. 1, 2, preached at the performance of Publick Penance by certain Criminals,* on the Lord's day, usually called Mid-Lent Sunday, 1696." London, 1697.

"*Piscatio* or Angling," a Latin poem inscribed to Archbishop Sheldon.†

XL. *John Conant*, son of Robert and Elizabeth Conant, was born at Yeatenton in the parish of Bicton, Devon, on October 18th, 1608. He early showed signs of genius, and his uncle, John Conant, rector of Limington, Somerset, sent him to a school at Ilchester, where he remained till he was 18. In February, 1626-7, he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, and soon made

* The criminals did penance in white sheets with wands in their hands.

† For further information on the life of Dr. Ford, see *The Dictionary of National Biography; A Few Sheaves of Devon Bibliography* by Rev. J. T. Dredge; and *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, vol. v., part xl., pp. 249 to 255.

his mark in the University. Dr. Prideaux, rector of his college, used to say of him, "Conanti nihil difficile." He proceeded to the degree of B.A. May 26th, 1631, and M.A. January 12th, 1634. Not only was he a thorough master of Greek and Latin, but he had a considerable knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. On July 3rd, 1633, he was elected a fellow of his college, and was soon afterwards ordained deacon. The outbreak of the civil war in 1642 scattered his pupils, and he was compelled to leave Oxford. He left behind his books, which were of considerable value, in the hope of one day returning to the University, but they all disappeared during his absence.

He retired in the first instance to Limington, of which his uncle was rector. Finding on his arrival that his uncle had been driven from his living, owing to his Puritan tendencies, he remained for a time, and ministered to the people, preaching every week. Eventually, however, the troubled state of the country compelled him to quit his quiet Somersetshire retreat and follow his uncle to London, where he became chaplain to Lord Chandos, and took up his residence at Harefield, near Uxbridge. Lady Chandos paid him the unusually large salary of £80 a year, the greater part of which he devoted to buying bibles for the poor and paying for their children's schooling. The attempt made by the dominant faction to compel all members of colleges to take the Solemn League and Covenant, caused him to resign his fellowship at Exeter College on June 4th, 1647. Two years later, however, on the death of Dr. Halliwell, rector of Exeter, the fellows of the college chose Conant as his successor, and he once more took up his abode at Oxford, June 29th, 1649.

His rule at Exeter College seems to have been a most successful one, and his biographer tells us that "the students were many more than could be lodged within the walls," some even coming from beyond the sea. He was a strict disciplinarian and enforced attendance at college chapel, at which he preached every Sunday morning. Once a week he was accustomed to catechize the undergraduates on *Piscator's Aphorisms* and *Woollebius' Compendium*. While at Oxford, he held the neighbouring vicarage of Kidlington, where he preached twice every Sunday. He also lectured at the churches

of All Saints, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Michael, in Oxford. He received ordination at the hands of the presbytery at Salisbury, on October 28th, 1652, and two years later, May 29th, 1654, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In December of the same year, on the death of Dr. Hoyle, Conant was chosen Regius Professor of Divinity, and while he held that office, lectured twice a week during term time on the annotations of Grotius.

The endowment of the professorship having been confiscated by Parliament on the expulsion of Dr. Sanderson, Cromwell, as an equivalent, presented Conant in 1657 with the inappropriate rectory of Abergele in Denbighshire. On October 9th of the same year, he was elected vice-chancellor of the University, and continued to hold this important office till 1660. "His inauguration," says his biographer, "deserves particularly to be mentioned. Upon his receiving the insignia of that office, laid down by Dr. Owen, there was such a universal shout of a very full convocation as has hardly ever been known on a like occasion. This was owing to the general esteem the University had for him, and to their expectation of something extraordinary from his government. Nor did he disappoint their hopes." His rule was a strict one, and he appears to have acted as proctor in his own person; but he continued to be extremely popular, especially when it was found that he had reversed the policy of his predecessor, Dr. Owen, who foolishly attempted to put down the wearing of caps, gowns, and hoods, as "badges of Popery"!

In 1660, Dr. Conant was an advocate for the restoration of royalty, and (attended by the proctors and a number of doctors and masters of arts) met the King in London, and presented him with an address of congratulation from the University of Oxford, and a book of poetry, specially composed for the occasion, entitled *Britannia Rediviva*. As the rectory of Abergele belonged of right to the Bishop of St. Asaph, Conant voluntarily resigned it at the Restoration. He was also deprived of his professorship, Dr. Sanderson, the rightful occupant, being reinstated in his chair.

On March 25th, 1661, he was summoned to attend the Savoy Conference of Divines, who were appointed to review the Book of Common Prayer. The alterations

then made not being considered satisfactory by his party and having scruples against taking the oath in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, Conant resigned his University appointments and the rectorship of Exeter College. Eventually he took up his abode in Northampton. While residing there, he refused to form a separatist congregation, as he was invited to do, but made a point of attending regularly the services in his parish church* (All Saints). He devoted his time to a thorough investigation of the doctrines and liturgy of the Church of England, and at length determined to conform. He submitted to re-ordination, and was ordained priest by his father-in-law, Dr. Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, September 28th, 1670. No sooner had he qualified himself for public service, than he was elected by the vestry of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, as their vicar, on December 18th, but preferring to remain in Northampton, he effected an exchange with the vicar of All Saints (Dr. Ford), and was instituted to that living on February 15th, 1670-1. Five years later, his parish and church were alike reduced to ashes by the terrible fire of 1675; but though several offers of preferment were made to him, he determined to remain faithful to his old flock. His letter describing the fire has been often re-printed, and is well known to all students of Northampton history.

As a parish priest, Dr. Conant is described as an untiring visitor of the sick and a frequent and earnest preacher. He was a great advocate of public catechizing "and the better to encourage the parishioners to send their children to be publicly catechized, he would begin with his own, and constantly made them appear in their turns at that exercise." His care in preparing the youth of his parish for confirmation was such as manifested the sense he had of the importance of that part of church discipline. He would not only instruct them in public, but also explain to them in private the nature and extent of the baptismal vow. He administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper very frequently, and so ordered it that the sermons and catechetical discourses preceding it should always contain in them

* The All Saints Vestry books contain an order dated April 4th, 1664, that Dr. Conant and wife should sit in a seat with Mrs. Cooke.

something preparatory to the worthy receiving of that sacrament.

In 1676, somewhat reluctantly, he accepted the archdeaconry of Norwich, which was offered to him by Bishop Reynolds in these words, "I do not expect you should thank me for the present I am about to make to you, but will heartily thank *you* if you will please to accept it—the archdeaconry of Norwich, now in my gift." His last charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry is printed verbatim by his biographer. It is full of earnest piety and practical common sense.

In December, 1681, by the favour of Charles II., he was installed as a prebendary of Worcester Cathedral. For some years his sight had been failing, and in 1686 he became totally blind. Failing health compelled him to resign the living of All Saints in 1689.

He died March 12th, 1693-4, in the 86th year of his age, and was buried in the church of All Saints. A handsome monument of black marble was erected to his memory at the east end of the north aisle.*

He married, August, 1651, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Dr. Edward Reynolds, then rector of Braunston, Northants, and afterwards bishop of Norwich. By her he had six sons and six daughters. The parish registers of All Saints record the baptism of one daughter (Frances), December 8th, 1667, and the burial of another (Martha), September 27th, 1670. His present descendants are the Conants of Lyndon Hall, Rutland, sprung from one of his younger sons.

A history of the life of John Conant was written by his son, John Conant, LL.D., and was afterwards published by the Rev. William Stanton (1823). Further information on the subject will be found in an article in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Six volumes of Conant's sermons have been published. The first in 1693 during his lifetime; the others in 1697, 1698, 1703, 1708, and 1722. A manuscript copy of his letters, compiled by his son, John Conant, Jun., is in the possession of Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton.

XLI. *Benjamin King, S.T.P.*, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. in 1676-7, and M.A. in 1680. In 1699 (May 11th),

* For the Inscription, see succeeding chapter on Monuments.

he was incorporated at Exeter College, Oxford, and two years later, July 12th, 1701, he was admitted to the degree of B.D. and D.D.

In 1689 Dr. Conant resigned the living of All Saints, and a keen contest arose as to his successor. The mayor and some of the aldermen were in favour of Mr. Ward of Old, "but ye major part was for Mr. King, wherefore ye mayor put some out of ye house, but at last there being 2 to 1 for Mr. King, he is minister."*

He continued to hold the living of All Saints for twenty-seven years, and from 1700-17 that of Ashton in addition. He resigned in 1716 on his appointment to the vicarage of St. Mary-de-Lode, Gloucester, where he resided till his death in 1728. He married a daughter of Dr. Conant, and was succeeded at All Saints by his son, Benjamin King the younger.

XLII. *Benjamin King, M.A.*, son of the previous vicar, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, June 17th, 1703, at the early age of 16. He took the degree of B.A. in 1707. He was afterwards incorporated at Cambridge, where he was admitted to the M.A. degree from Emmanuel College, in 1719. In 1717 he was chosen to succeed his father as vicar of All Saints, Northampton, and continued there till his death in 1731. The *Northampton Mercury* for Monday, November 1st of that year, thus alludes to him—"On Monday last died the Rev. Mr. Benjamin King, Vicar of All Saints in this Town; a Gentleman well respected for his Sobriety, Learning, and Extensive Charity to the Poor." A stone was erected to his memory on the south side of the church of All Saints. He is there described as:—

Patris Benjam. King et avi Joh Conant in hac ecclesia haud indigno successoris"—a not unworthy successor of his father, Benjamin King, and of his grandfather, John Conant. See Nichol's *Leicester* iv., 626.

XLIII. *Aaron Lowcock, M.A.*, was appointed to the

* Lee, in his MS. history gives the following account of this election:—"1689. In December, Dr. Conant, by reason of his great age, surrender'd his vicaridge of All Saints. But it was not knowne till the middle of January. Mr. King and Mr. Ward of Old made interest for ye vicaridge wth ye Trustees, who are those members of ye Corporacon that are parishioners of All Saints, but there arising some differences in the election, complaint was made to ye Bishop of this Diocese. And the Bishop upon hearing of ye whole matter, declared for Mr. King, and he was presented accordingly."

vicarage of Wellingborough, Northants by the Hon. William Brook, Baron of Beauchamp Court, on June 19th, 1718, and to that of All Saints, Northampton, December 13th, 1731. He was not, however, inducted to the living of All Saints till the following May. He held it till his death in July, 1752.

The *Northampton Mercury* of that date says:—"Early on Monday morning last died, aged 62, the Rev. Mr. Aaron Locock, Vicar of All Saints in this Town and also Vicar of Wellingborough. And yesterday the Worshipfull the Mayor and the rest of the Gentlemen of this Corporation, unanimously elected Mr. Frost of Harpole to be vicar of All Saints, aforesaid."

Mr. Lowcock was a tall and athletic man, and it is said that at Wellingborough church the door from the vestry into the chancel was raised in height, in order to enable him to come in without stooping. The new stones then inserted are still plainly visible. The following story is told of him:—One night, as he was crossing the long bridge, he was attacked by a foot-pad, but instead of handing over his purse, he seized the foot-pad, and was in the act of throwing him over the parapet into the river, when he caught sight of his assailant's face, and recognised him as a parishioner. "If it wasn't," he exclaimed, "more for your soul than your body, Jack, I would drop you." He thereupon set him at liberty.*

At his death in 1752, he was buried in the south aisle of Wellingborough parish church, together with his wife Mary, and nine children. The mutilated slab which formerly covered his grave is now in the chancel.

XLIV. *John Frost* was son of Samuel Frost, of Harpole, Northants. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he matriculated, October 11th, 1742 at the age of 17, and took his B.A. degree in 1746. On August 2nd, 1752, he was elected by the Mayor and Corporation to the vicarage of All Saints, and continued to hold it till 1774, when he exchanged with William Hughes, vicar of Theddingworth. The *Northampton Mercury* of July 24th, 1790, contains the following obituary notice of him:—"Died on Thursday, at Theddingworth, in Leicestershire, aged 66, the Rev. Mr.

* Cole's *History of Wellingborough*.

Frost, Rector of that Parish, and many years Vicar of All Saints in this town."

XLV. *William Hughes*, son of David Hughes of Helidon, Northants, was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. He matriculated January 22nd, 1745-6, at the age of 17, proceeded to the degree of B.A., 1749, and that of M.A., 1752.

In 1766 (July 26th) he was instituted to the vicarage of Theddingworth, in Leicestershire, which he held till 1774, when he exchanged with John Frost, vicar of All Saints. On June 9th, 1776, he was instituted to the vicarage of Spratton, on the presentation of Francis Beynon, and continued to hold it in conjunction with All Saints till his death in 1794. A pamphlet by him addressed to the parishioners of All Saints and of Spratton is still extant and shows him to have been a man of real piety. He was buried in All Saints, and on the south-east wall of the church, a monumental slab has been erected to his memory.

XLVI. *Edward Miller* first appeared at All Saints as curate in 1768. In April, 1794, on the death of William Hughes, the Corporation presented Edward Miller to the vicarage, which he held till his death in 1804. He was buried near the west gate of All Saints churchyard, and his tomb bore the following inscription:—

Revd.
Edward Miller
obiit 21 Oct. 1804
Ætatis 84.
Mrs. Ann Miller
Relict of the
above
Obiit 28 Sep. 1808
Ætatis 84*

XLVII. *Charles Henry Tuffnell* was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1791. On the death of Edward Miller in 1804, Mr. Tuffnell, who was then acting as curate of All Saints, was nominated as his successor, and a keen contest took place between him and Mr. Stoddart, a former curate. The election lay with those members of the Northampton Corporation residing in the parish, "of

* Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, iii., 218.

whom 46 voted, 26 for Mr. Tuffnell, and 20 for Mr. Stoddard; the latter had the misfortune to lose his sight some time, by reason thereof many thought him ineligible in consequence" Mr. Tuffnell was instituted on December 4th, 1804, and held the living till his death in 1822.

XLVIII. *William Thursby*, a younger son of John Harvey Thursby (the third of the name), of Abington Abbey, was born April 27th, 1795; and baptized on May 3rd at Pitsford. He was educated at Harrow and Oriel College, Oxford, where he matriculated, April 27th, 1814. He proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1818 and to that of M.A. two years later. In 1819 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Peterborough, and priest in 1820. In the latter year he was presented by Lord Chancellor Eldon to the valuable living of Hardingsstone and in 1822 allowed himself to be nominated as a candidate for the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton. He was evidently a man of considerable force of character, for several of his letters to the patrons of the living are still extant, in which he resolutely declines to bind himself down by any promises. He states further, that he has the greatest objection to acceding to their request that he should preach a "probationary sermon" which is (he says) "as repugnant to my feelings as a gentleman as it is derogatory to my dignity and inconsistent with my principles as a clergyman of the Church of England." The patrons appear to have respected his honesty, for he was eventually, after a keen contest, elected to succeed Mr. Tuffnell, August 30th, 1822.

A contributor to the *Scarborough Repository*, describing a tour in the Midlands in 1824, speaks of him as follows:—"On Sunday attended divine service at All Saints church, Northampton, and heard for the first time the new vicar, the Rev. W. Thursby. He possesses a fine voice and went through the service in a devout and effective manner. He preached from Rom. viii. 1. It was a good practical and experimental sermon. He seemed much in earnest and used a great deal of action. I was pleased to observe so much zeal in a clergyman so young, and congratulate the Corporation (in whose hands is the vicarage) and inhabitants in

general of Northampton, on their acquisition of so able a minister.”*

While vicar of All Saints, William Thursby, married Eleanor Mary, elder daughter of Colonel Hargreaves of Ormerod House and Bank Hall, Burnley, September, 1824. A little later, the then Duke of Cambridge selected him as one of his chaplains. He resigned the vicarage of All Saints in 1832, but continued to hold that of Hardingstone. In 1834, on the death of Colonel Hargreaves, without male issue, his estates and collieries passed to Mr. and Mrs. Thursby and her sister (Miss Hargreaves).† The closer attention required from Mr. Thursby as head of the firm, compelled him to resign his living of Hardingstone and to take up his abode at Burnley. He did not, however, give up his clerical work, and on the consecration of St. John's church, Worsthorne-by-Burnley, he became its first vicar, 1836. “In every measure tending to ameliorate the condition of the working classes,” says a contributor to one of the local papers, “he took a deep interest, and gave it his influential support. The curtailing of the hours of labour found in him a warm and consistent advocate, and when the Earl of Shaftesbury visited Burnley in 1866, the Rev. W. Thursby was the first to suggest the propriety of presenting an address from the over-lookers of the town on behalf of the workpeople to his Lordship, and he personally introduced the deputation, who presented the address at Gawthorpe, then the residence of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.” In September, 1869, advancing years and infirmities compelled him to resign the living of Worsthorne, which he had held for no less than thirty-three years.

The church in the north owes him a great debt of gratitude, for not only did he erect at his own cost, the national schools and reading room at Worsthorne, but St. John's church, Gannow was built by him and Lady Scarlett, and the bulk of the expense of erecting St. Luke's, Brierfield, was likewise defrayed by them. At length, after being in holy orders for over sixty-four

* Taylor's *History of Abington*.

† In 1835 she married Sir James Yorke Scarlett, second son of the first Lord Abinger. He was then captain in the 5th Dragoon Guards, but afterwards became famous as the leader of the brilliant charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava.

years, Wm. Thursby died at Brighton, October 10th, 1884, his wife having pre-deceased him by nine months, December 14th, 1883.

Mr. Thursby was the father of a large family, the following of whom survived him :—(1) Colonel John Hardy Thursby, J.P., formerly lieutenant in the 90th Regt., and Colonel of the 5th Royal Lancashire Militia, who succeeded him as head of the executors of Colonel Hargreaves; (2) Major James Leigh Thursby, who served in the Crimea; (3) the Rev. W. Ford Thursby, rector of Burgh Apton, Norfolk; (4) Mr. Arthur Harvey Thursby; (5) Captain Piers Thursby; (6) Lieut.-Colonel Richard Hasell Thursby; and (7) Miss Sophia Charlotte Thursby.

XLIX. *William Wales* was educated at St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1827 and M.A. 1833. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1827 and priest by the Bishop of Rochester in 1828. In 1833 he was appointed to the vicarage of All Saints, Northampton, being the last incumbent appointed by the Corporation. From the first he showed himself a strenuous supporter of Church extension and Church education, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the ecclesiastical district of St. Catharine's was constituted. The first stone of the new church of that name was laid on August 11th, 1837, and two years later the building was completed and consecrated. About the same time, Mr. Wales set about the erection of the All Saints parochial schools, which were built in 1839, and subsequently enlarged as a testimonial to the vicar's zeal in the cause of education.

Later on the mission room and schools in the "south quarter" now known as St. Luke's, were built as a thank-offering for the removal of the cholera.

In 1846 Mr. Wales became an honorary Canon of Peterborough, and four years later, (1850) chancellor of the diocese, an office which he continued to hold till within a few months of his death.

After a vicariate of twenty-six years, Chancellor Wales resigned the living of All Saints, March 27th, 1859, on his appointment to the rectory of Uppingham. In referring to his departure, the *Northampton Herald* of April 2nd, 1859, remarked that "the parishioners of All

Saints, and indeed, the churchmen of Northampton generally, have reason to be thankful that for so long a period, and during the time of such trial to the Church of England, harassed as she was, by enemies from without and enemies from within, the most important ecclesiastical position in this town was occupied by such a man. Ardently attached to the doctrines, the discipline, and the ritual of the church, the late vicar of All Saints calmly and quietly pursued the even tenor of his way. He faithfully preached from the pulpit the doctrines of Christianity, whilst at the same time, by his labours in the parish, he accomplished those works of usefulness which will always remain the monuments alike of his zeal and of the judiciousness of his conduct."

Mr. Wales held the rectory of Uppingham for twenty years, resigning in 1879. He retired to the quiet village of Great Houghton, but afterwards removed to Leamington, where he died August 19th, 1889, at the advanced age of 85.

Mr. Wales was twice married; first to Frances, seventh daughter of Lancelot Haslope, Esq., of Highbury Lodge, Middlesex, who died suddenly, June 21st, 1840, and was buried in the nave of All Saints. The slab which covers her remains is still to be seen at the foot of the chancel steps. The Chancellor's second wife was the Hon. Louisa Diana Spencer, third daughter of Francis, first Baron Churchill (and sister of the Rev. and Hon. W. H. Spencer, late rector of Great Houghton), who survived him.*

L. *Sydney Gedge* was born April 3rd, 1802, and was educated under Dr. Malkin, at King Edward's School, Bury St. Edmund's, where he was a schoolfellow of the late Bishop Blomfield and Chief Justice Malkin. From there he passed to St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as B.A. (fourteenth Wrangler and seventh in the first-class classical Tripos) in 1824, the same year as Lord Hatherley, whose friendship he enjoyed till his death. He was an active member of the Union Society, of which Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and the late Lord Lytton were among the more prominent speakers on the Whig side. "Mr. Gedge being the son of a man who had established at the close of the

* *Northampton Herald*, August 24th, 1889; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

eighteenth century a Whig newspaper in Bury St. Edmunds, made some vigorous speeches at the Union on the same side, and the result was that, although a Fellowship at his college—St. Catharine's—was vacant, and he had taken this high degree, he was not elected a Fellow till the autumn of the following year. He entered at Lincoln's Inn and read for some time in the chambers of Mr. Rolfe, afterwards Lord Chancellor Cranworth; but abandoning the Bar as a profession, he was ordained in the year 1826 on his Fellowship."

After taking the degree of M.A. in 1827, he resigned his Fellowship and was licensed to the curacy of North Runton, Norfolk, which he held till 1835. Here he took pupils, among them being Dr. Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle. In 1835 Mr. Gedge was appointed second master in King Edward's School, Birmingham, a post which he held for twenty-four years under Dr. Jeune, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of Manchester, and Dr. Gifford. Among his more successful pupils were Dr. Benson, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Lightfoot, bishop of Durham.

While at Birmingham, he was a keen supporter of the public free library, and sat for some years on the committee. He was also one of the founders of the Midland Institute. In 1859 he resigned his mastership on being appointed by Lord Overstone to the living of All Saints, Northampton, which he held for eighteen years. It was largely due to his efforts that the church of All Saints was thoroughly restored and beautified in 1866. He also took an active interest in the new schemes for St. John's Hospital and the Grammar School of Northampton, and in 1871 was appointed Rural Dean.

Advancing age—he was then 75—induced him in 1877 to resign his living, "thinking it better to hand over the parish in thorough working order to a younger successor than to hold on when he was no longer able to render full justice to his work." He retired to Dorking and eventually to Cromer, where he died August 27th, 1883, at the ripe age of 81, and was buried at Mitcham. A brass tablet to his memory is to be seen on the north side of the chancel of the church of All Saints, Northampton.

He left five sons and five daughters, the sons being Mr. Sydney Gedge, a solicitor, clerk to the London

School Board; the Rev. J. W. Gedge; the Rev. H. S. Gedge, formerly curate of All Saints and afterwards vicar of St. Paul's, Northampton; the Rev. H. Erskine Gedge, chaplain at Grasse, and sometime vicar of Brixworth; and the Rev. W. Wilberforce Gedge.*

LI. *Robert Bevan Hull* was the third son of the Rev. John Hull, of Poulton-le-Fylde, Lancashire. He was educated at Rugby under Dr. Temple, the present archbishop of Canterbury, and from thence obtained a Colquitt Exhibition at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he matriculated May 28th, 1863. He took his degree in 1866 and in the following year was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Manchester to the curacy of Deane, Lancashire, of which the present Bishop of Leicester was then vicar. In 1868, Bishop Thicknesse became vicar of Brackley, and Mr. Hull undertook the curacy of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, of which parish Archdeacon Brooke, vicar of Halifax, was then rector. In 1869 he was admitted to the priesthood by the Bishop of Ripon, and after a five years' sojourn at Thornhill, he resigned his curacy and went to assist his father, who was at that time vicar of Eaglescliffe, county Durham. Here he remained as assistant curate for two years, till in 1875 he was appointed to the vicarage of Abram, Lancashire. In the following year he became vicar of Highley, Salop, and in 1877 was presented by Lord Overstone to the living of All Saints, Northampton.

"Young in years to undertake the spiritual charge of so important a town parish, he was yet younger in appearance. No inconsiderable anxiety prevailed among the older parishioners as to the future of their church organizations handed down to them by preceding vicars of the evangelical school of thought. This anxiety, however, soon gave way to confidence, and confidence ripened into love and devotion. Young men, attracted by the earnestness and lofty ideals of the new vicar, offered themselves for service in the work of the church. New organizations were started. The slums of the parish were permanently occupied for church work by the mission rooms of St. Gregory and St. Alban. The

* For a full account of his life, see *Northampton Herald*, September 1st, 1883, and the *Times*.

restoration of the parish church was carried out at considerable cost, and re-opened by Archbishop Magee. The organ, which from time immemorial had dwelt in the western gallery, now found a home in a new vestry adjoining the chancel. Side by side with this material development, congregations increased in numbers. The energy and earnestness of the vicar penetrated and moulded every organization throughout the parish."

In April, 1878, Mr. Hull was appointed rural dean of Northampton, an office which he held until his health broke down in 1897. He was ardently devoted to the cause of temperance and his work in that direction, especially in connection with the C.E.T.S., was not limited to the confines of his own parish. He was the mainspring of the movement in the whole town, and his influence reached every such society in the diocese. In this temperance work he often overtaxed his strength by his readiness to assist various societies throughout the county. "In 1889 he was appointed honorary canon of Peterborough Cathedral. There are few diocesan committees of which Canon Hull was not a member. Education, both primary and intermediate, obtained much of his attention. The Church Education Society had no abler advocate or more zealous worker." He was chairman of the house committee of the Northampton Infirmary and was a keen supporter of the St. Saviour's Refuge at Kingsthorpe, and of the Northampton Prison Gate Mission.

In 1896 his health broke down, but it was hoped that a short period of rest would restore him to health and work. As, however, each recovery was from time to time followed by a relapse, he desired to give up the spiritual charge of All Saints. His parishioners were reluctant that the tie which had so long bound them together should be broken, and they requested him to make a supreme effort for recovery by a long rest on the continent. They would supply all necessary funds for the efficient working of the parochial organizations during his absence. Rest, however, only brought temporary relief. His health could not stand the strain wrought by the necessary work of a large town parish, and he determined to resign. Accordingly, on September 7th, 1899, he was inducted to the rectory of Abington, by exchange with the Rev. F. N. Thicknesse,

who then became vicar of All Saints. It was hoped that "freedom from work and comparative rest would restore him to health in time to undertake all the work of the increasing population of Abington. God, in His providence, willed it otherwise, and very early in the morning at the breaking of the dawn on June 21st, 1900, the great Master, whom he had so faithfully served, called him to his rest and reward."* Two days later, on Saturday, June 23rd, his body was laid to rest in the churchyard of Abington.

Canon Hull married in 1871, Alice, daughter of the Rev. John Kingdon, rector of Michaelstowe, Cornwall, by whom he had seven children, five of whom survive:— (1) Charles Robert, lieutenant 19th Hussars; (2) Francis John, solicitor; (3) Florence Mary; (4) Alice Theodora; (5) Sibyl Margaret.

LII. *Francis Norman Thicknesse*, son of Francis Henry Thicknesse, lord bishop of Leicester, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Ralph Thicknesse, of Beech Hill, Lancashire, was educated at Winchester and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1880 and M.A. 1890. He was ordained deacon in 1882, and for three years acted as curate of St. Peter's, Jarrow. From 1885 he was curate and lecturer of Bolton, an appointment which he resigned on his preferment (by his old college) to the rectory of Limehouse. Here he worked for seven years until, in 1894, Lady Wantage presented him to the living of Abington. While at Abington, Mr. Thicknesse did invaluable work in the cause of religious education as secretary to the Northamptonshire Church Education Society, his activity manifesting itself even in the most distant parts of the archdeaconry. In 1899 he exchanged livings with Canon Hull and thus became vicar of All Saints. His energy in this capacity is well known to all; suffice it to say that he is proving himself a worthy successor of his many distinguished predecessors at All Saints.

The Lecturer.

At the close of the sixteenth century, in many of our more important town churches, "Lectureships" were

* See an obituary notice of Canon Hull in the *Peterborough Diocesan Magazine*, July, 1900, by Canon Hughes, of which the above is a short abstract.

established, with the avowed object of extending Puritan teaching.

“The lecturer held a licence from the bishop of the diocese, but was quite independent of the parish priest, and was very often a thorn in his side. He was not obliged to use the church service; he was simply to lecture. Arrayed in his Geneva cloak, he could, and often did unsay in the afternoon what had been said by the incumbent in the morning. The lectureship was generally in private patronage, and Puritan parishioners were ready to subscribe handsomely towards funds for the maintenance of men who could be made powerful engines for the spread of Puritanism through the parish pulpits.”*

In the church of All Saints, however, where the vicar, Thomas Ball, was known to be Puritanically inclined, the maintainers of the lecture entrusted the work to him, and for twenty-seven years he lectured on each Sunday afternoon. When failing health compelled him to resign the lectureship, the work was continued by the neighbouring country clergy.

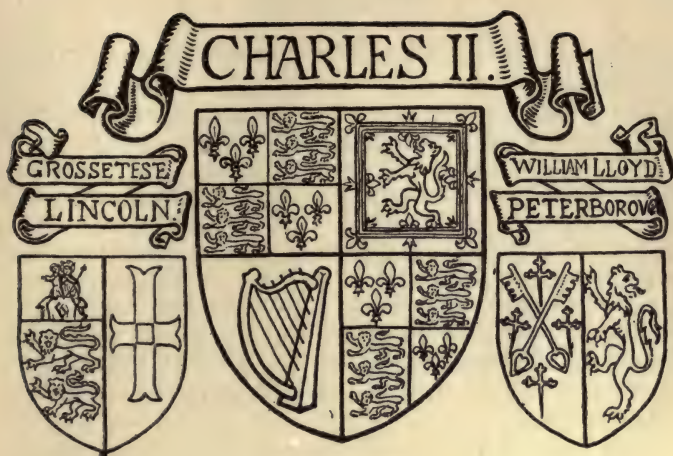
In December, 1654, £10 was voted by the Corporation “to be paid out of the chamber unto the countrie ministers towards the maintenance of the Lecture.”

In 1658 it was decided “that for the future the minister’s dinner that preacheth shall be paid out of the chamber”; and the mayor and aldermen were directed to prepare a letter of thanks in the name of the whole assembly, to be “presented to the Lecturers to signifie their thanks to them for their readiness in this businesse.”†

In August, 1811, the Corporation subscribed twenty-five guineas in aid of the subscription to the vicar of All Saints for his afternoon sermons, doubtless a survival of the lectureship.

* Under the Commonwealth, this weapon, forged by the Puritans, was often turned against them by the Episcopalians. The positions were now exactly reversed, the parochial ministers teaching Puritan and the lecturers Church principles. See Overton's *Church in England* ii., 66-7, 120-1.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii., 401.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE FABRIC.

OF the church of All Saints as it was when conveyed by Earl Simon to the priory of St. Andrew, there is no evidence in stone remaining. It must, however, have been a building of considerable size, otherwise it would not have been possible for a fair to have been held in the nave during the days of the early Norman kings. In 1232, as has been already stated, much work was in progress in connection with the fabric, or an indulgence to those assisting would never have been issued. The lighter style then in vogue would not readily coalesce with the heavy Norman work and the plan probably involved a complete rebuilding, even if not then entirely accomplished. It must always be remembered that in pre-Reformation days the idea of completely interrupting the round of services in a once consecrated church was never entertained; there were no big schoolrooms into which to adjourn during building operations, nor were there then any facilities for the speedy erection of temporary shelters. The recollection of this fact often helps to explain the curious inter-

weaving of work of different styles and dates in many of our parish churches.

There seems some reason to believe that the core of the pillars now supporting the western tower, which was before the fire the central tower of a cruciform church, is of Norman workmanship, and that during the rebuilding in what is usually known as the Early English style, this comparatively small central tower could not be removed, and had its arches somewhat narrowed to carry a loftier structure. Such a theory would, at all events, account for the awkwardly small size of the basement of what was once the central tower, which must have detracted from the dignity of the interior of the building.*

It is not till the sixteenth century that we get any description of the church, and even then the information to be gleaned is very slight. In 1535, Leland, the antiquary who had been sent on a tour of inspection by King Henry VIII., arrived in Northampton and thus recorded in his diary his impressions of the town and principal church:—

“The towne of Northampton standeth on the north side of the Avon [Nene] ryver on the browe of a meane hille, and risith still from the south to the north. Al the old building of the towne was of stone, the new of tymbre. Paroche churches in Northampton within the waulles, be seven; whereof the church of Al-Halowes is principale, standing yn the harte of the towne and is large and welle builded. There is a chapelle of St. Caterine sette in a cemeterie in the towne belonging to the church of Al-Halowes, where that paroche dooth byri.”

The details already given of the various chapels and altars within the walls of All Saints certainly corroborate Leland's statement that it was a large building.

Of this old church, which doubtless underwent a variety of alterations and adaptations to changed circumstances during the fourteenth and two succeeding centuries, nothing now remains but the (central) tower, which is embodied in the present building, and a small crypt at the east end.

* This is the theory of the Rev. Dr. Cox., F.S.A.

The tower has undergone a great variety of alterations from the earliest days of its erection down to the time when it was sorely disfigured by being crowned with a cupola. When the successive stages of the tower are carefully examined, as they can be from the different stories of the interior and from the roofs of the present buildings that surround it, it is found that the levels of the different floors have been altered from time to time, and the whole strengthened and developed with unusual frequency. The result is that its architectural history is not a little puzzling, and no two antiquaries or ecclesiastical architects seem to be able to exactly coincide in their views with regard to it.

There have been few antiquaries of more deserved reputation in the county of Northampton than the late Sir Henry Dryden. He paid considerable attention to this church, and his always reliable measurements are of much service in elucidating the subject, even if his statements and conjectures do not seem always quite correct.

The following are Sir Henry Dryden's opinions with regard to the tower, as set forth in 1881, in the volume of the Associated Architectural Societies:—

The tower is 12 feet 11 inches square inside. The north, east, and south walls are 5 feet 6 inches and 5 feet 8 inches thick (Plate I., figs. 1 and 2). At 10 inches from the interior angles are upright joints in the masonry, which are the outlines of the four original piers of the tower arches; and at 10 feet above the floor are their abacuses,* which are apparently of the thirteenth century, but possibly of earlier date altered. The arches are rather low for the size of the tower and church, assuming that the church was then of the size it was afterwards. Subsequently these arches were supplanted by narrow lofty pointed arches, the outline of one of which can be seen in the south transept. The impost of these was at 24 feet from the ground, but their width apparently the same as before. The hood of the east arch can be seen behind the organ† and is apparently of fifteenth century date. At a later date, perhaps in the sixteenth century, these arches probably became insecure, and were filled on the north, east, and south with the constructions we now see, containing small pointed arches 4 feet 7 inches wide, of four orders. On the west the still more modern front has taken the place of this insertion. In the north and south insertions, over these small arches are other arches of similar character and of nearly similar size. A wooden floor was placed in its present position when the insertions were made. The floor of the present ringing chamber and the entrance to it are modern. In the upper part of this chamber

* One of these so-called abacuses is undoubtedly a string course, and the other is at best doubtful.

† The organ stood in the west gallery when this was written.

are squinches§ as if to carry a spire, but in the chamber above—the clock chamber—they are not continued.

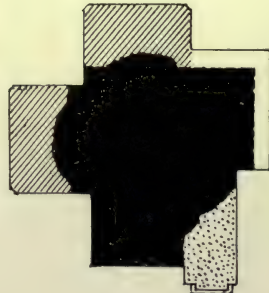
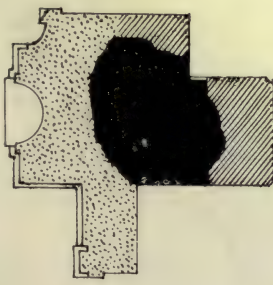
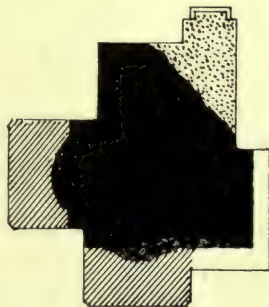
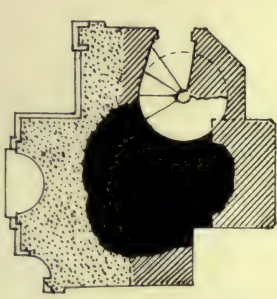
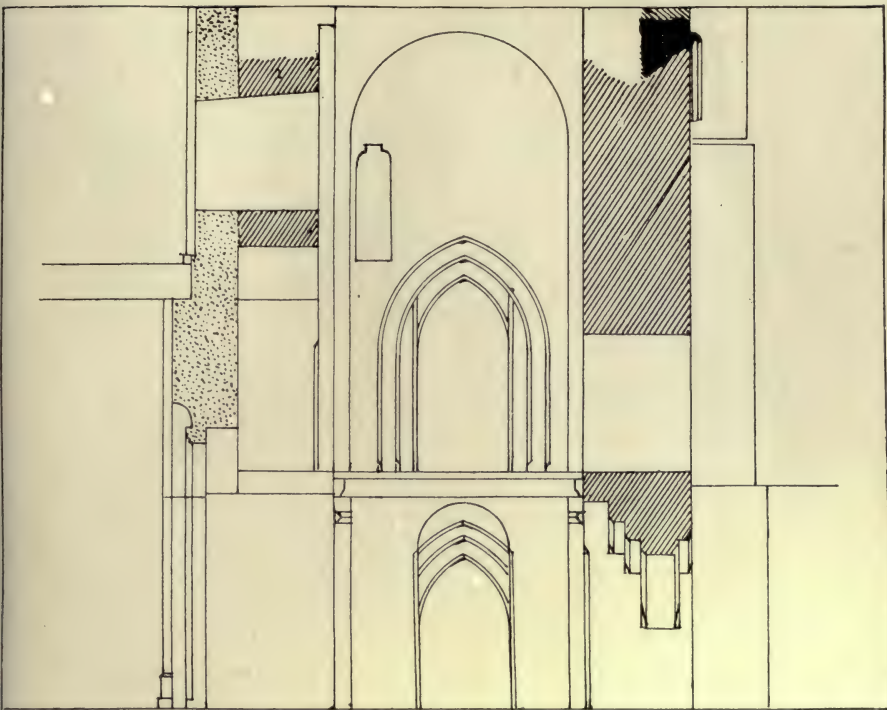
Inside the tower, and opposite the traces outside of it of the lofty pointed arches, are semicircular discharging arches (Plate I., Fig. 1.) which are probably of the same date as the insertions above mentioned. I am supported in the theory that the lofty narrow arches under the tower were filled in the fear of some failure in the building, by an entry in the MSS. of the Corporation for the year 1619.—“This year the congregation of All Saints were afraid the church would have fell in sermon time,” shewing that the whole building was in a precarious condition. . . . We have no evidence of the date of the bell-chamber; but it is not improbable that it is of the same date as the insertions before mentioned.

We have also the good fortune of being able to give Mr. M. H. Holding's opinions, which were specially written for these pages. There is no other architect whose opinion on ecclesiastical fabrics carries such deserved weight with Northamptonshire folk, as the able diocesan surveyor.

The earliest idea of the All Saints church of the past must be limited to Norman times (as no remains are evident of anything earlier) and there is little doubt that a church of fine proportions and large dimensions existed during that period. The massiveness of the existing tower walls up to such a considerable height, and the axe-work on the wrought masonry of the upper part, where it has not been touched, confirm this view, and my opinion is that the four very lofty semicircular arches seen in the upper part of the ringing chamber are of Norman work, and that they are in no way discharging arches. If we may presume that they opened into the church, then All Saints must indeed have been a lofty edifice. The question of the existence of low Norman arches requires verification, for the impost moulding or string course that can be now seen, has, to judge from its section, as many claims to be considered Early English. This member has been termed by some an abacus, but as no one has yet proved the existence of any respond with a cap at this level, I think the term is misused. While agreeing as to the probability of this impost or string course being Early English or even Transitional, or a possible altering of a previous Norman moulding, as Sir Henry Dryden has thought, my own opinion is that it cannot by any stretch of date be put down to the thirteenth century. Probably it belongs to the latter part of the twelfth century. Apart from this feature there is absolutely no indication anywhere of any Early English work generally understood as such.

I have had submitted to me the evidence that in 1232 Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln, granted an indulgence of twenty days to anyone who would contribute to the building of All Saints, Northampton, and that a step like this was never taken unless extended and important work was in hand. The building operations begun in the time of Hugh Wells, were carried on long after his death, and to the best of my judgment, the remains of the crypt of this church formed a portion of this work. Its diagonal buttresses and octagonal pier indicate Decorated tendencies, and while admitting that such features may occasionally be set down to the

§ It would seem probable that the builders intended in the first instance to erect a spire, but afterwards, as the work proceeded, altered their plan.



preceding period, I consider the most accurate description of the work of this crypt would be to call it Transitional from Early English to Decorated.

The work of building the church went on in the Decorated style for many years during the latter part of the thirteenth and well into the fourteenth century, and was proceeding during the Curvilinear period, which may be put down as reaching from 1315 to 1360. The upper part of the tower (excluding, of course, the modern cornice and cupola) was built at this time, a fact to which the flowing lines and most excellent section of the mullions and tracery of the tower windows bear striking testimony. Thus while much of the Norman work elsewhere disappeared, the general mass of the tower remained, and this decorated stage was added to it. There seems little reason to doubt that at the fire it was mainly a Middle-Pointed or Decorated church that was burnt, and Duke Cosmo's sketch, which shows a west elevation of high pitch and flanking turrets, so characteristic of this style, lends a support to this view. In addition to this, it may be remarked that the interesting pieces of jamb and mullion stones recovered from the crypt excavations, were all of this Middle-Pointed period, and are almost identical with those of the tower windows.

Coming next to the fifteenth century, there undoubtedly were additions during this period; indeed there were comparatively few churches which were not added to during the fifteenth century. St. Giles', St. Sepulchre's, and St. Peter's, certainly received additions in the prevailing Perpendicular

style, and at All Saints we have the Perpendicular arches, which were built in under the lofty Norman arches of the tower. The characteristic thinness of the walls of this period accounts for the responds and arches over them not being in the centre of the thick Norman walls. These Perpendicular responds are half octagonal, and the tops of the caps of these arches on the north, east, and south are all on one level, and about twenty-four feet from the floor. I have been at some trouble to expose the cap on the west respond of the north arch,* and give the section of it here. It has not, I believe, before been measured or drawn. It accords with the date of the label over the eastern arch, as seen within the church.

I have now only to deal with the building up of these Perpendicular arches, and over and above them to the under-sides of the Norman arches above, and the construction within this building-up of the low, narrow arches as now seen on three sides of the ground floor of this tower. Probably these arches, and the building-up of the walls of which they form part, date from about the year 1619, when it is recorded in the Corporation MSS. that "This year the congregation of All Saints was afraid the church would have fallen in sermon time." In support of this view it may be further pointed out that just three years previous to this date, much of the tower and nave of the adjacent church of St. Giles fell

* This cap can be found under the boarding of the opening made through the north wall of the tower from the turret stairs into the ringing chamber.

down and was rebuilt as is recorded by a tablet on the nave wall of that church, as follows:—

" Rob : Sibthorpe's care
To God's trve feare
This downfalne chvrch
Got help to reare."

1616.

WILL: DAWES, MASON.

In this case low, narrow arches were built in under the east and west Norman arches (now opened out) and one similar arch now remains on the north side. These low, narrow arches were doubtless the models from which those at All Saints were copied. So exactly are they alike in many ways, that I cannot but think they were executed by the same workmen. This might easily have been the case, since the low arches at All Saints are probably only some three years later than those of St. Giles'. In this connection, and as an explanation of what would seem to be such unusually good constructional and characteristic Gothic treatment yet executed in the seventeenth century, I would draw careful attention to the low arch on the south side of St. Giles' tower, which, from the moulded details of its corbels, is undoubtedly of pre-Reformation date, and either of late Decorated or early Perpendicular work, the mouldings being identical with those of one bay of the south arcade of the nave of this church which did not fall down. We may therefore assume that the general outline of this south arch served as a model for the low arches at St. Giles' in 1616, and those of All Saints in 1619.

On the north side of the tower is a small turret, half octagon in shape, with a narrow, pointed doorway leading on to the roof of the church. A small fragment of weather-moulding against this turret, on a level with the base of the door shows the height of the roof of the north transept in the Perpendicular period. Another door opened out of the turret westwards, but this is now blocked. At the east end of the tower on the north and south sides, are large strengthening buttresses which were probably added or strengthened when the arches below were filled up.

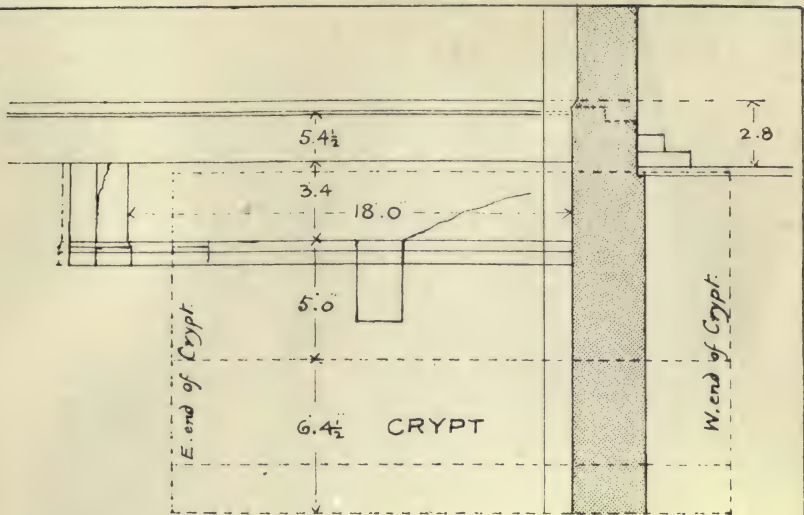
In 1886, the heating apparatus in the crypt (under the present chancel) being out of order, considerable alterations were made, during which the central pillar and other parts of the crypt which are now entirely hidden, were temporarily exposed to view. The late Sir Henry Dryden fortunately took the opportunity of drawing careful plans of the crypt, which are here (by the kindness of the Architectural Society) reproduced, together with the notes made by him at the time.*

By this (*i.e.* the opening up of the central pillar) the original level of the floor of the crypt was ascertained. The surface of the ground outside

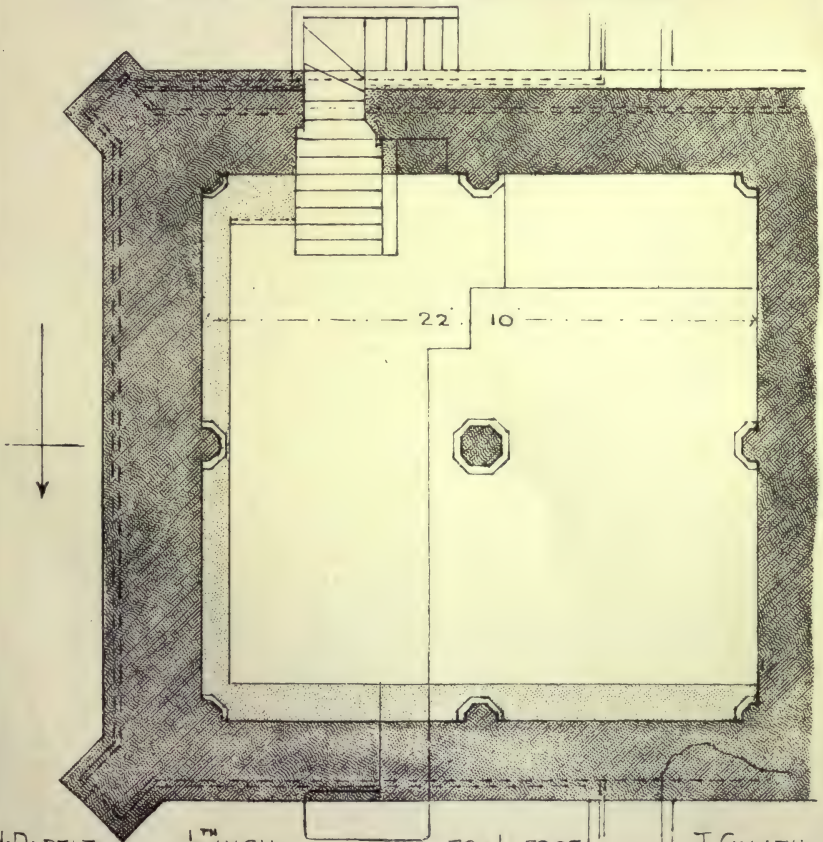
* Northampton Architectural Society's Report, 1887.

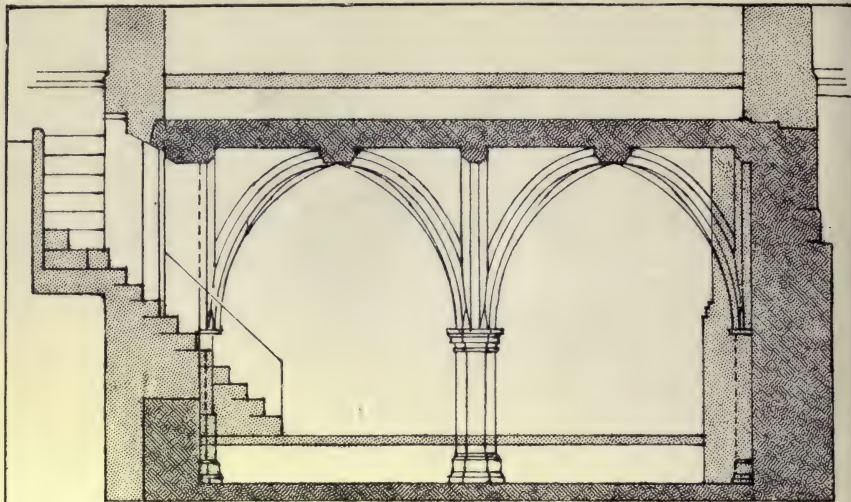
ALL SAINTS CRYPT

PLATE 1

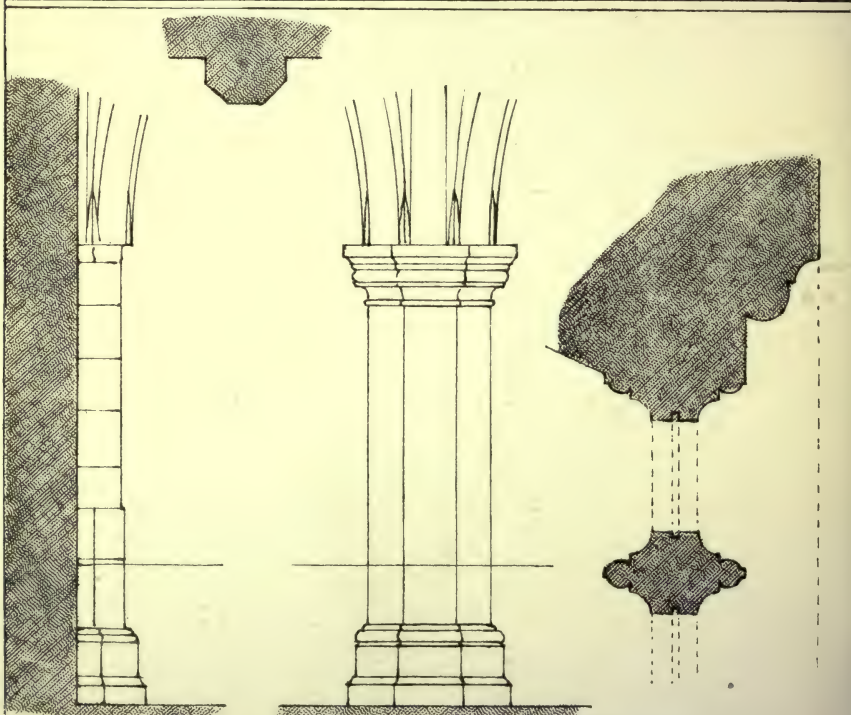


N. OUTSIDE OF CHANCEL · LOOKING S.





LOOKING · W ·
 $\frac{1}{8}$ INCH · TO · 1 FOOT.



$\frac{3}{8}$ INCH TO 1 FOOT.

$\frac{3}{4}$ INCH TO 1 FOOT.

is now about 4 feet 6 inches above the surface during the existence of the old chancel. The level of the floor of the former chancel was perhaps a few inches lower than that of the present floor. On the north outside, the present plinth is flush with the wall of the former chancel above its plinth which is a plain chamfer of 3 inches projection. The old wall remains for 3 feet 4 inches above that plinth, and 1 foot below it; and the old foundation, rougher wall, as low as the bottom of the crypt, which is 16 feet 9 inches below the top of the modern plinth. The junction of the angle buttress with the old north wall is at 18 feet from the east wall of the present transept. The side of the buttress just above the plinth is 1 foot 9 inches in projection and its face about 2 feet 6 inches, a peculiar proportion (Plate I.). On the south side, the wall of the present chancel overlaps that of the former one by about 2 feet 6 inches, that is, it is outside the old wall.

The crypt is under part of the present chancel, and extends under a part of the nave. It must be borne in mind that the former church was a cross church with a central tower, of which parts remain embodied in the present tower. Therefore the whole length of the present nave was choir. The crypt appears to have been originally 22 feet 10 inches square internally. It is divided into four squares by longitudinal and transverse ribs, forming pointed arches, and each quarter is crossed by diagonal ribs, all 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with plain chamfers (See Plate II.). The central pillar is octagon, of 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with moulded cap and projecting base, both octagon. From the bottom of the base, (the original floor level) to the top of the cap is 6 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The present floor is 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the former one. A pilaster on the south wall remains visible above the present floor, but that part is semi-circular and an insertion. The lower part, which is original, half octagon, of 1 foot 4 inches diameter, with a base corresponding, is under the present floor. The cap has been destroyed (Plate II.). In the east wall are two small rectangular windows, now blocked, which show that the east end of the old church extended no farther, about 16 feet short of the present east end, and agreeing with the angle buttress described before.

The present entrance is from the outside on the south of the chancel, but it is not clear that this was the original entrance, though it probably was.

The vault arches are 6 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the level of the impost to the soffit of the apex. They have no bosses. The side walls are lined with stone from about 6 feet to about 2 feet thick, which doubtless has been done for the security of the superstructure. We might fairly suppose that this was done when the new church was built in 1675-80, but the fact that the splays of the two window-openings have been continued through the lining, goes to show that the lining was made when the windows admitted light during the existence of the former chancel.

The crypt is now about 18 feet east and west, by 19 feet 2 inches north and south.

It is evident that in the former church the steps from the main part of the choir to the chancel, or sanctuary, were farther west than the present ones, as there is not room below the pavement of the nave for the stones of the vault, and accordingly the vault has been mutilated to make room for the pavement. . . . In the excavations one stone was discovered which had been part of a window jamb, and gives the whole section; and part of a mullion of the same, or a similar window (see Plate II.).

The purpose of these small crypts was for the reception of bones not inclosed in coffins or tombs, and those of Rothwell in this county, and Hythe in Kent, still retain a large number. They must be distinguished from the much earlier and larger crypts, such as those at Canterbury, York, Hexham, Ripon, Repton and other churches. Of this latter kind

there are many abroad which often, and perhaps usually, contained the tomb of a saint.

An entry in the parochial vestry books shews that in the days of the Commonwealth this crypt was used for secular purposes:—

1656, October 20.—It is agreed and ordered that Edward Cocker shall from henceforth use and enjoy the seller under the chauncell soe longe and untill he be thereof and therefrom discharged by a vestrie, he payinge yearly for the same to the churchwardens and their successors the rent of or some of tenn shillings.

Under the central part of the south aisle was another small crypt also used as a chanel house. The entrance to it was by a stair on its west side from the floor of the aisle. It had on its south side an opening sloping upwards to the surface outside for light, and for the admission of bones. This crypt was filled up when extensive repairs and alterations were made in 1866.

There is no doubt that the old church of All Saints, of which the tower and crypt just described alone remain, was a cruciform one, consisting of nave, with aisles, transepts, chancel, with aisles, and a central tower. Speed's map, made in 1610, shows a cross



church without aisles, but we know from many sources, that there were at least two aisles to the nave. The sketch given in Duke Cosmo's book of travels (see page

160) is the most valuable view we have of the old church. It shows a large cross church with lean-to aisles and a central tower with open arches and without a spire.

Canon Hull, in his paper on All Saints, mentions two other drawings of the church, on which, however, little reliance can be placed. One is on a plan in Messrs. Markham's office, dated 1632. It shews a large cross church with aisles under separate roofs, and a tower at the west end without a spire. The other is on a map in the British Museum, by a French artist, about the year 1640. It shews a cross church without aisles and a tower on the cross with a spire, and is wholly imaginative.

In the transactions of the *Northampton and Oakham Architectural Society* for 1881 is an enlargement of a drawing of this church purporting to have been taken from a thirteenth century manuscript. It was first produced in a local publication printed in 1844 to commemorate the entry of Queen Victoria into Northampton on her way to Burleigh House, but is now declared by experts to be a clumsy fraud.*

A few references to this old church of All Saints, gleaned principally from the borough archives and from the parochial vestry books, may prove interesting:—

On January 18th, 1594-5, the town Assembly ordered that a rate of £10 be levied on the parishioners of All Saints towards the repair of their parish church, then "greatlie in decaye."

A few weeks later (March 20th) Northampton was visited by a destructive storm, which is thus described in Freeman's *History of Northampton*:—"A great wind made such spoil of houses and trees, that no man durst set his foot out of doors; and having blown many large stones from the top of All Saints church on to the leads just before service time, it forced the roof down just over the mayor's seat, so that if Mr. Mayor and his brethren had come never so little sooner they had been all in danger of death."

The Assembly met on April 4th, and an entry in their order book under that date records that since the last Assembly "a great parte of the churche is fallen downe

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 405.

by means of the greate wynde that happened on Thursday (twentieth of March) last past So that the same cessment of tenne powndes is thought to little and insufficient for to sett the same in repaire agayne; therefore it is nowe agreed by consent of this assemblie that the same Scessment shallbe made Sixteene powndes thirtene shillinges and four pence."

Mr. Thomas Craswell was appointed "surveyor of the work."*

In 1617 the pulpit was rebuilt and considerable repairs were done to the tower or "steeple."

Two years later (1619) the congregation were again alarmed lest "the church would have fallen in Service Time when a gale of wind was blowing."

In August, 1624, the parochial vestry voted £40 towards the repair of the west end of the church. Eight years later (June 14th, 1632) a like sum was voted for repairing the church, "beginning at the upper end of the chauncill and soe downwards soe farre as that money will defraye the charge withall."

£40 was voted in 1633; £30 in 1634 "for the repairs of the church and church steeple being out of repair;" and £30 in 1635 "for the repair of the church and church windows."

In 1658 the lady chapel appears to have been in bad repair for at a vestry holden the second day of November, 1658, it was "ordered that the present churchwardens doe take and weigh the lead that came off the chappell of the lady Mary and other the materialls thereof except the walls and what else may be useful for the church and make sale of them to the best advantage to the parishe."

Closely following upon the restoration of Charles II. a vestry meeting was held at All Saints (July 16th, 1660) at which money was voted *inter alia* for "settinge up the King's Armes in the church."

On August 16th, 1667, the vestry determined to expend £30 on the repair of the church, "the rooffe and Leads of the sowth Ile of y^e chancell being verry ruinous and out of repayre."

On October 5th, 1674, the vestry adopted the following resolution:—"Whereas the windows of the church and

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 403-4.

chancell of All Sts. are verry much abused and broaken by boyes and others playing in the churchyard, It is therefore ordered that the comon cryer discharge all children and others from playing in the churchyard aforesaid, And Mr. Maior be desired to send to severall schoolem^{rs} wthin this toun to acquaint them wth this order that they may discharge their schollers accordingly, And it is alsoe desired of Mr. Maior that if any shal be taken and be proved to infringe this order that he will be pleased to inflict some exemplary punish^{mt} upon them for the same."

On September 20th, 1675, as we have already seen (page 161), the church of All Saints was entirely destroyed by fire. Henry Lee, who was town clerk at the time, gives us the following valuable information as to the old and new churches:—

"This new church of All Hallows was built upon y^e foundacons of y^e old chancell w^{ch} was very large, with great stalls and large desks before 'em on y^e north and south sides of y^e chancell and on y^e west side very gentile pews wth Desks before them to lean upon. The whole was large enough to receive y^e Parliament called by King Rich^d y^e 2^d. And it was held in y^e said chancell. When this church was built there was noe ground added, only 10 foot taken out of y^e churchyard on y^e east to make y^e present chancell longer which formerly was a Library and too small for y^e use its now put unto.

"Many have sayd yt y^e old church was as large as some cathedralls; it was larger than this, being wider and longer. The west wall of y^e churchyard over against Alderman Collins' house and Mr. Fowler's house, is built upon y^e foundation of y^e old church where in y^e middle were stately gates at y^e entrance, and a very high and large window. There were 3 Iles in y^e church and in y^e 26 year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th there, Nicholas Rands, Mayor, y^e middle Roof of All hallows church was made and raised very high and loughty. On y^e middle of y^e church wall on y^e church was a chappell built by Mr. Neale who had been Mayor, very finely built wth white stone. There was a south porch very great and large, and over it was a large roome in w^{ch} y^e spiritual court was held.

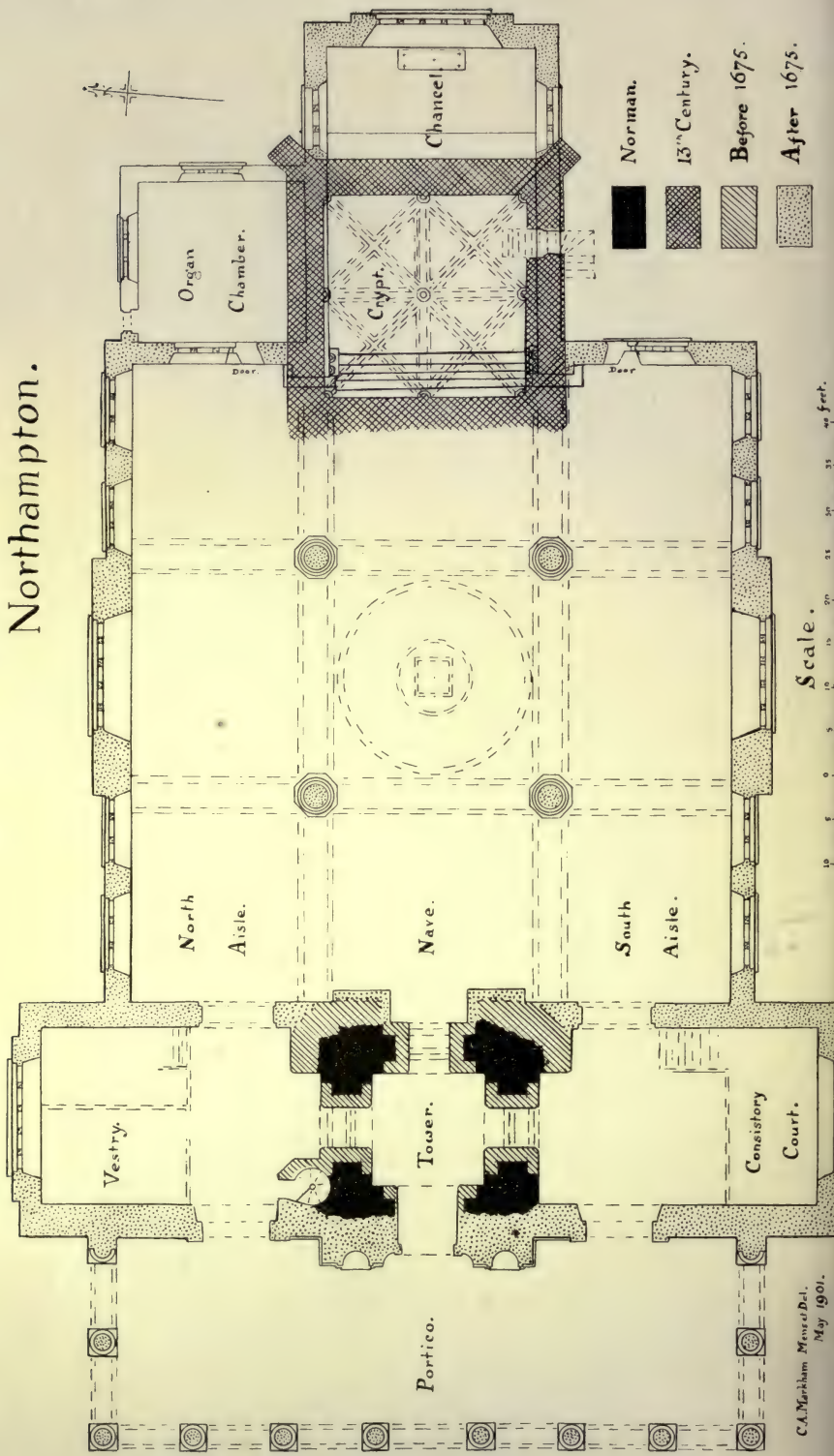
"In ye 27th year of ye Reign of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1585, Mr. Wm. Rainsford, Mayor, there was Mr. Samuel's Tomb built and ye vault under it for a burying place. That place ys called ye Lady Chappell in ye chancell belonging to All Hallows church, and now since ye fire, is built and made ye church and is now made use of for ye vest house. That door entring into ye churchyard now on ye east from ye vest house led into an old strong building adjoining to ye south side of the chancell reported to be formerly a chappell in wch was ye stairs to goe under the chancell wch was supposed to be built by the old man wth his wife lyeing in two stone coffins together upon ye top of ye piller in ye middle of ye vault arches running on everyside to ye piller and bear up ye floor of ye chancell; after ye fire, was taken up and new laid, the old man wth his long beard and gray hairs on his head and ye woman lying by him in ye two stone coffins wrapt up in a kind of hair cloath or dog-work and hanging, were seen and taken notice of by many. I had a peice of ye stuffe brought to me. If it had not been for Dr. Conant's request to ye people not to medle wth them, their corps had laine naked."

The New Church of All Saints.

After the fire of September 20th, 1675, the church was reduced to such a ruinous condition that the tower alone and its supporting arches could be incorporated in the new building. The rest of the church (with the exception of the ancient crypt under the chancel) is in the Renaissance style. Before the fire the nave of the church extended westward from the tower to a point about twenty feet further into the street than the present entrance gate, the chancel being the only part of the church on the eastern side of the tower. It gives some idea of the great size of the old building to remember that the present church is built entirely on the site of

* "Memorandums of the Antiquities of the Town of Northampton, and severall remarkable things acted in this Kingdome of England, collected by Henry Lee in the eighty-sixth year of his age, who served ye Corporacon of Northampton in the office of Town-clerk fifty and three years, till August, 1715." Now among the Bridges' MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

All Saints Church, Northampton.



C.A. Mackham
Miner's Del.
May 1901.

the old chancel, ten feet only having been taken from the churchyard at the east to allow of the building of the present sanctuary.

The accompanying plan (kindly drawn by Mr. C. A. Markham) shews a square church of considerable size, with a somewhat small chancel. Four stone pillars of good proportions support the roof, which is a very fine specimen of seventeenth century work. It is of plaster, beautifully moulded and modelled, and is one of the chief features of the present building. It culminates in a fine central dome, ornamented in a similar manner. The name of the architect is unknown. Curiously enough the churchwardens accounts furnish us with no information with regard to the rebuilding of the church, the annual statements recorded in the vestry books referring simply to the ordinary routine expenditure of the parish. The work was accomplished by voluntary subscriptions, which were gathered from all parts of England (see Page 167).

The work of re-building was completed in five years, and on September 5th, 1680, the new church was opened by Dr. Wm. Lloyd, bishop of Peterborough. The building was not however completed in its present state till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the portico and cupola were added. The great west portico, completed in 1701, is a fine piece of work, and extends the whole width of the church. It is supported by twelve pillars and is surmounted by a cornice with balustrades, ornamented with urns.

In 1711 it was decided to further adorn the portico with a statue of Charles II., who had given timber for the rebuilding of the church. Accordingly in the mayor's accounts* for 1711-12 we find that £4 15s. od. was spent in "placing up King Charles and finding all Materials and Labourer;" £4 10s. od. "for Stone and Carridge of the same;" and 14s. "for Cullering King Charles." Not content with painting the figure of the king, the Corporation in 1713 paid £3 "to Mr. Hunt for Gilding y^e stature of King Charles y^e Second." Slight traces of the colour and gilding are still visible. The king is represented in a curious combination of costume—

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 406.

toga and greaves of the ancient Roman fashion and a long flowing wig, characteristic of the seventeenth century. The statue bears this inscription:—*Carolus II^{us} Rex MDCCXII.* Beneath the statue are the royal arms and along the frieze of the portico runs the following inscription:—“This statue was erected in memory of King Charles II., who gave a thousand tons of timber towards the re-building of this church; and to this town seven years chimney money collected in it. John Agutter, Mayor, 1712.” As has been already stated the town paid for the statue, but the royal arms were set up at the expense of the parishioners, £9 being voted for the purpose at the Easter vestry, 1712.

The newly erected portico proved an attractive playground for children, and on March 4th, 1700-1, the vestry was obliged to vote 20s. a year to one of the serjeants for “clearing the Portico and Churchyard of boyes.” In 1702 this order was “vacated,” but three years later the vestry were obliged to renew it, and on December 30th, 1705, it was agreed “that Wm. Wallis, the Serjeant, be allowed and payd xs. for his care in clearing the Churchyard and Porticoe of boyes and others playing there til Easter next.”

In November, 1707, the aid of the chancellor of the diocese was invoked. At a vestry meeting held on November 24th the following entry was made in the minute book:—“It is the desire of this Vestry to Mr. Chancellor that he will make an Order to cleere the Porticoe of the Church of idle boyes and loose fellows playing there and to cause the same to be affixed on the church dore in the portico.” The order seems to have had little effect, for various sums of money are voted each year till 1723 for keeping out the obnoxious boys. At a vestry held February 25th, 1723-4, it was agreed “that William Spence be chosen Under Sexton . . . and that the Twenty Shillings heretofore annually allowed to William Lane for keeping the portico clear of Boys playing therein be added to the Sexton’s salary and five shillings more, which together make up the sume of Four pounds as an encouragement to the said William Spence to keep the said Porticoe clear from Boys playing there and also to keep the churchyards of the said church of All Saints in clean and decent order.”

In 1704 the authorities decided to place an open cupola and fane on the summit of the tower, and at a Vestry meeting held on April 27th, it was ordered

That the new churchwardens take to their assistance such workmen and artists as they shall think fitt to consult and advise about setting and fixing the Cupilo upon the steeple, with the Fane upon the same, for the best advantage and ornament of the place.

On June 19th, Alderman Selby, Alderman Collins, Alderman Ivory, Mr. Henry Jeffcut, and Mr. George Hayes, were chosen to "assist the present churchwardens in the ordering of the Fane and Setting the same upon the Cupiloe on the Steeple."

On September 24th, 1704, the Vestry ordered "that the Ball and Fane on the top of the Cupilo upon the Steeple be gilt with gold."

In 1685 the parishioners decided to build a "Vestry House," and at a meeting held on April 20th, of that year, a committee was appointed "to view the north wing of the church in which is designed a vestry howse." The arrangement was evidently approved, for on August 8th, 1687, money was voted by the vestry "for the making of a vestry howse in the north wing of the church."

In June, 1766, it was agreed by the Vestry to expend £42 in "whitewashing the church with Bristol Lime, and making good all the ornaments." These ornaments would probably be the plaster work of the ceiling. A similar order was made by the Vestry in 1789 (May 11th), and a committee was appointed to see that it was "done in a workmanlike manner."

Restoration of 1840.

In March, 1840, we learn from Freeman's *Guide to Northampton*, the church was closed for five weeks and underwent a complete restoration throughout the whole of the interior. The tower was also restored in a substantial manner. At the same time, a subscription, raised by the ladies, provided a new crimson velvet cover for the communion table, velvet cushions, new books, etc.

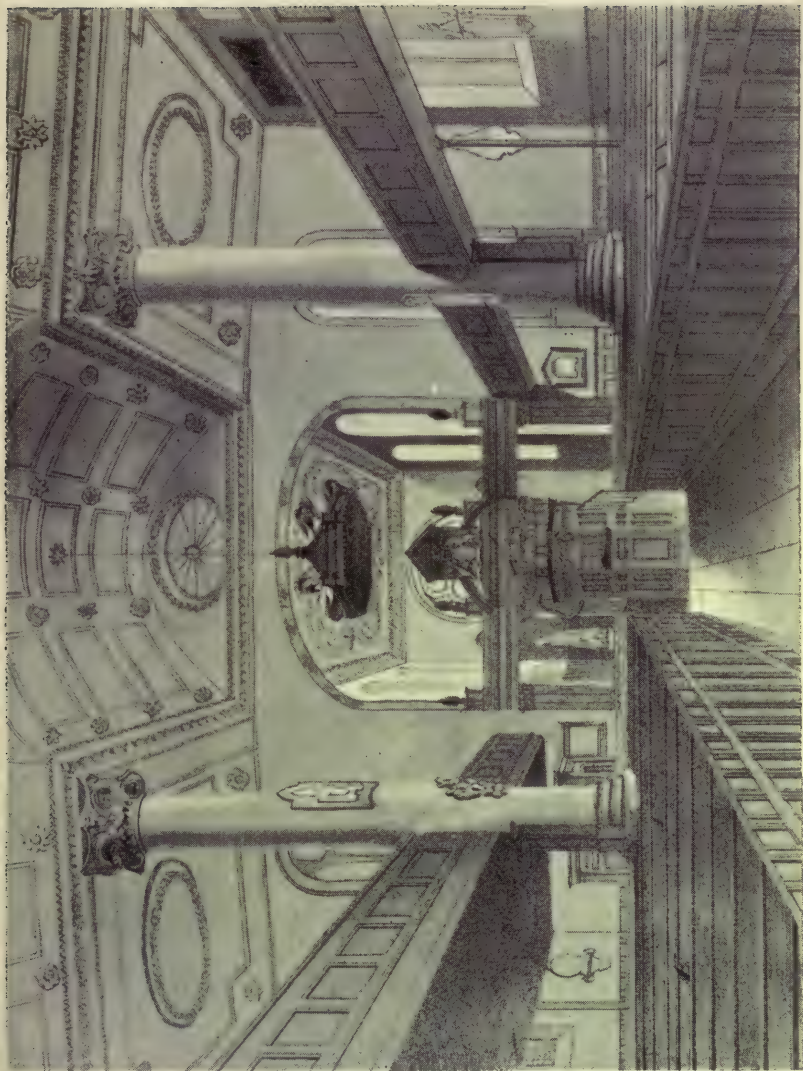
Restoration of 1865-6.

Five-and-twenty years later, the church of All Saints was once more in urgent need of restoration, and it was resolved at a meeting of the Vestry, held April 17th, 1865, to apply for a faculty "for altering and repairing the church." A few months later it was decided (July 27th) to apply for a further faculty for "taking down and reconstructing the north and south galleries."

The work occupied many months, and it was not till October 9th, 1866, that the church was reopened by the bishop of the diocese, who preached the morning sermon.

The *Northampton Herald*, October 13th, 1866, furnishes us with the following interesting particulars as to the state of the church before the restoration and of the improvements then effected:—

"For many years the church had been in a discreditable state, and the roofs had become so bad and the lead work so dilapidated, that it was necessary to attempt a restoration. The interior of the church, though fine in its proportions, in many respects beautiful in its detail, and generally a splendid specimen of the style adopted at the period at which it was rebuilt, was defaced with huge galleries and high pews. So enormous were the galleries, that only a small portion of the window heads could be seen above them, even when viewed from either the north or south aisles, but if you entered the church by the middle aisle, no portion of the windows could be seen. Moreover, these galleries were so wide as to reach from the north and south walls to the centre of the fine massive columns which support the roof and the dome. The pulpit, with a huge prayer desk and staircase surrounding it, occupying a space of about ten feet in circumference stood in the centre of the church, and this, together with the heavy screen separating the chancel from the body of the church, and the massive sounding board suspended over the pulpit, completely blocked from view the chancel and the altar-table; indeed, there were only two small square apertures through which any part of the chancel could be seen. This defect was felt to be a sad drawback to the proper and devout performance of the beautiful service connected with the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in consequence was the cause of continual complaint. The form of the



THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS BEFORE THE RESTORATION OF 1865.



stonework of the windows of the church which is generally considered to be very ugly, was made much more so by the unsightly and dilapidated character of the lead lights which filled them.

“The graves were so numerous within the church, that on entering it after it had been closed for a day or two, almost everyone complained of the “fetor” experienced. On one occasion, a gentleman on entering, exclaimed “Call this a church? I call it a charnel house!”

“The stone-work of the walls throughout was much decayed, and had at various times been restored in cement. Considerable portions of the cement work had fallen off, making dilapidation appear even more dilapidated.

“The turret on the tower was in a most unsafe condition, and it is well that no damage or loss of life had occurred from the dangerous state of the weather-vane surmounting it.

“The entrance vestibules and Consistory Court were in a sad condition, being partly blocked up by unnecessary stair-cases and galleries, and the plastering on the walls and ceilings, discoloured, cracked, and falling. The heating apparatus was so worn and defective that a fire could not be introduced without filling the church with smoke and noxious vapours, partly arising from the connections which, from continual interments, had taken place between the flues and the graves.

“This is, if anything, an under-drawn picture of the state of the church when the architect, Mr. E. F. Law, was called upon to report and advise. From this description it will be seen that in restoring the church there was ample scope for the skill of the architect, and we feel bound to say that the opportunity has not been misused.

“Looking at the interior, we find that the north and south galleries have been taken down and reconstructed on a much improved and reduced plan, so that there is now a space of five feet between the front of the galleries and the main pillars, and the windows can be well seen, both above and below the galleries, from the middle or side aisles. This alteration of the galleries has added greatly to the general internal effect, and by liberating the fine massive columns, has exhibited them in all their fair proportions. The architect, we know,

would gladly have removed the galleries altogether, and proposed some plans with reference thereto. Upon this point there was much discussion, but the impossibility of providing for the six hundred sittings which would have been thereby sacrificed, and the determination of the ecclesiastical authorities not to allow the galleries to be entirely removed, unless the loss of accommodation was otherwise provided for, compelled the committee to abandon the idea. The seats have been re-worked and placed in a proper position; they are made so that all the congregation will face the east, in lieu of facing each other. They have also been reduced fifteen inches in height, all the doors have been removed, new cappings and book boards provided, and the seats considerably widened. Before the seats were reconstructed, the floors were taken up, the numerous graves that were found were arched, or covered over with stone slabs, and then the whole area within the walls of the church laid with a bed of good lime concrete about twelve inches thick.

"The Architectural Society was consulted with respect to the removal of the screen and the pulpit, and also with respect to the design for the decorations. They recommended the removal of the pulpit, the *retention* of the chancel screen, and approved the designs for decorations. Their recommendations as to the pulpit and the designs for decorations approved by them, have been carried out, but their recommendation concerning the screen has been disregarded. The Bishop and the Chancellor of the diocese desired its removal . . . and the committee ordered it to be removed."

Ecclesiologists of the present day are unanimous in condemning the removal of the screen as the one blot on an otherwise careful restoration of the church. Its handsomely carved pilasters, pediment, and royal arms may now be seen worked up into the three entrance doorways from the vestibule to the church.

In 1888 the church once again underwent restoration. On March 22nd of that year, the Vestry resolved to apply for a faculty "to erect a reredos at the east end of the chancel, and for other alterations in the church according to plans now produced, and also for the removal of certain mural monuments to the west wall and other suitable positions in the church." The faculty was



THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS FROM THE WEST

obtained and the work at once proceeded with. The reredos which was erected, occupies nearly the whole of the east end of the chancel, entirely blocking up on the inside the east window with its heavy ugly tracery. The centre compartment of this reredos is let into the recess of the window, while the wings project forward and produce a good effect of light and shade.

The principal feature in the reredos is a large painted panel of the crucifixion, in which the three figures are about two thirds life size. This was the gift of Mr. J. and Mrs. Barry. On either side of this centre compartment, stand two Corinthian columns, supporting a lofty semicircular canopy, the tympanum of which is filled with solid rays of glory gilt. The lesser compartments of the reredos, north and south of the centre, contain two tables of the ten commandments arranged in two ornamental panels. Into the panel of the chancel ceiling immediately above the painting of the crucifixion and over the sanctuary, has been introduced a painting of two angels, bearing a scroll on which are inscribed the words "He is risen."

After beautifying the east end, the architect next turned his attention to the walls of the chancel. As has already been remarked, the builders of 1675-80 devoted most of their attention to the beautifying of the ceiling, which is a splendid example of the moulded plaster-work of the seventeenth century. The walls of the church were left bare and ugly, and in 1888 an attempt was made to remedy this as far, at least, as the chancel was concerned. The walls were covered with fibrous plaster, painted in soft tints and relieved with gold. The result has been eminently successful.

The chancel arch was also at this time remodelled. "The curve was much improved, and it is now supported by coupled Ionic columns on each side of the entrance to the chancel."

A new base was supplied for the old pulpit by funds raised by the members of the All Saints Women's Communicants' Association and the Society of St. Philip, to perpetuate the memory of the late E. F. Law, J.P.

The lighting of the church was also improved, a large sunlight being introduced into the chancel ceiling and a fine corona of gas lights suspended from the dome in the centre of the nave.

The church was re-opened on December 13th, 1888, the sermon being preached by Dr. Magee, bishop of Peterborough.*

The Seats.

A considerable amount of information as to the seating of the parishioners both before and after the fire, may be gleaned from the order books of the Assembly, and from the parochial vestry books. At an Assembly held on March 15th, 1566, it was ordered

That from this day forward those that hathe ben baylys off the towne of Northampton shall syt or place thereselfes on the Sondaye or other festivall daies in the body of the Parish Church of All Sayntes, but in the time off the Redinge of the sacredd scriptures or sermons in the chapell heretofore apointed in paine of forfaicture of iiij^d. off every defaulte to be presently receyved by the collectors to the use of poore off the parishe.

Among the "customs of the church" entered in the opening pages of the earliest parochial vestry book (1620) is the following:—

It is the auncient custome of this parishe that the Church wardens doe appoynt seates in the Church for every newe marryed couple and have for the placing of their wives xij^d. which the doe employe about the repaire of the Church. If the same parties growe to better estates or come to beare any office in the said towne, they are to be removed higher to other seates according to the discretion of the churchwardens of the same parishe without any further payments.

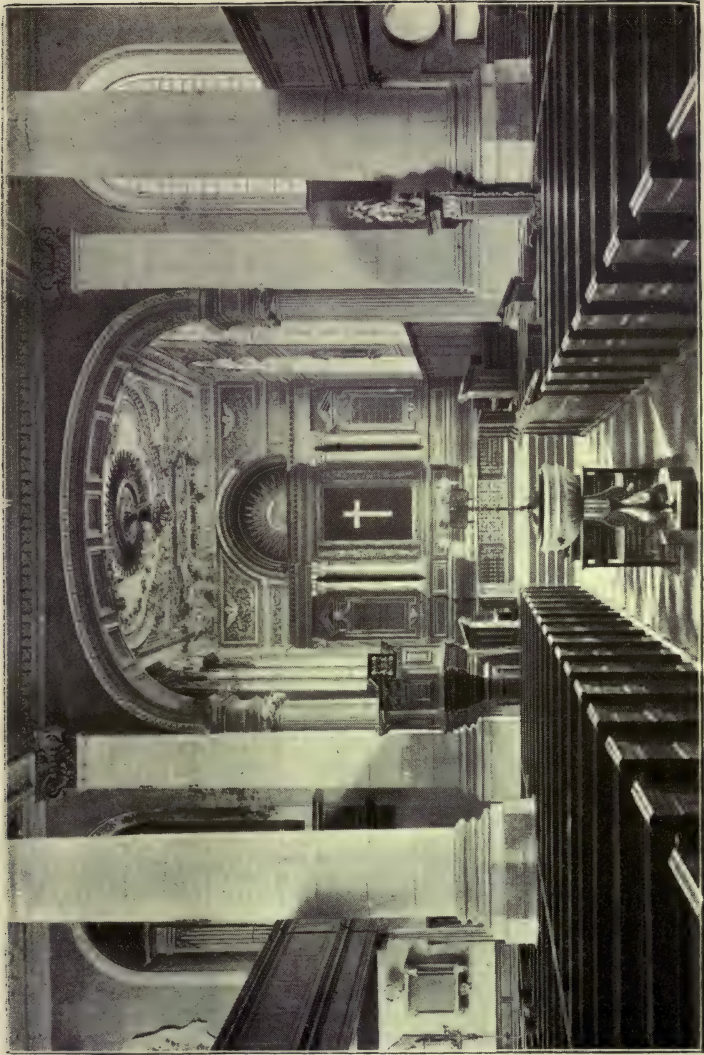
In 1628 special provision was made for the seating of the minister. At a Vestry held July 10th of that year, it was agreed

That Mr. Reynolds, now minister, shall have for thuse of himself, his wyf, friends, and familie ye upper end of Sr William Tates, deceased, his seate, that is that seate next to the Ladie Farmer's Seate wherein Abraham Ventris did late use to sitt, and that the parish shall forthwith pay to Abraham Ventris and Samuel Ventris, his brother, the monye they latelie paid for the procuring of the same seate. And that the same seat shall allways hereafter be constantlie a seat for the minister of this parish.

On June 14th, 1632, it was ordered

That Henrie Painter, Esq., and Mr. Rushton shall have the lofte latelie new built over the Maires seat. It is likewise ordered that there shalbe another seate made over the Chauncellors seate sutable wth thother, at the charges of the Lady Hampden, of Abbington, widowe, upon her promise that she hath made to give vs. yearly towards the repaire of the church.

* For fuller particulars see *Northampton Herald*, December 15th, 1888.



THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS DURING THE RESTORATION OF 1888.

In 1635, Mr. Barnard, of Abington, is allowed the use of the seat built by his late mother, Lady Hampden.

In 1655, a difficulty appears to have arisen with regard to the seating of parishioners, for at a Vestry holden the fourth day of February, 1655-6, it was ordered

That Mr. Ed. Collis, Mr. John Selby, and Mr. Thomas Collins be desired to view some churches in London and Westminster in order to the restouring and better placing the seates and lofts in this church and that their opinion be reported at a vestry after to be called.

Their enquiries perhaps resulted in the three following orders being made :—

October 20th, 1656.

It is ordered that the north corner seate in the loft at the west end of the church shall be reserved for the aldermen's sonnes to sitt in.

March 18th, 1657-8.

Itm it is ordered that the xlvij Burgesses shall sitt in the seats next to the Bayliffs, and their wives in the seats next to the Bayliffs wives in their order.

April 12th, 1658.

It is ordered that the poore of St. Thomas house shall have their seats in the church in the middle space there upon formes to be there placed and that there shall be a raile sett before them to preservere them from crowde.

When the new church was almost completed after the fire, a Vestry meeting was held August 17th, 1680, for allotting seats to the parishioners, when the following orders were made :—

That the seate on the right hand upon the entrance into the chancel be for the use of Dr Conants wife and family to sitt in, And the seate on the left hand thereof be for Sr William Farmer if he please to accept of it until he shall Build a seat for himselfe.

That the uper broad seate on the North side of the midle ile in the Church be appoynted for the best sort of Gentlemen of this towne to sitt in.

That the 2 small seates behinde the said broad seate be disposed off as followeth viz the Lower most to Sr Edmund Bray Kn^t the upermost to the midle sort of Gentlemen to sitt in such as Mr Robert Ward Mr William Smyth and gentlemen of that Quality.

That the great seate over against the Pulpit adjoining to the great Pillar on the North be appoynted for the Maior and Aldermen to sitt in.

That the 2 next seates below the said Maior and Aldermens seate be appoynted for the Bayliffes and such as have bene Bayliffs to sitt in

That the 3 next seates below the said 2 Bayliffs seates (the halfe seates adjoining to the Pillar reserved for the Churchwardens only excepted) be appoynted for the Eight and forty to sitt in.

That the other seates below and the seates under the North windowes be disposed off by the Church Wardens to other Inhabitants of the Parish until further order.

That the uper broad seate above the reading pew on the Sowth side of

the middle Ile be appoynted for the best sort of Gentlewomen to sitt in.

That the 2 small Seates on the Sowth side of the broad Seate be appoynted for the middle sort of Gentlewomen to sitt in.

That the great seate below the reading Pew be appoynted for the Maior and Aldermen's wives to sitt in, And the entrance to the said seate be appoynted for their Daughters.

That the 2^d litle Seate adjoining on the Sowth of the Aldermens wives seate be appoynted for Dr Danvers his wife and the Gentlewomen of his family to sitt in untill he shall Build himselfe a Pew to sitt in.

That the 2 next seates below the Aldermens wives seate be appoynted for the Bayliffs wives to sitt in.

That the 3 next seates below the 2 Bayliffs wives seates (the halfe seate adjoining to the Pillar reserved to the Churchwardens to dispose off only excepted) be appoynted for the 48 mens wives to sitt in.

That the lower seates and the seates under the Sowth windowes be disposed off by the Churchwardens to other Inhabitants of the Parish to sitt in untill further order.

That the little seate on the North of the Maior and Aldermens seate adjoining to the great Pillar be appoynted for the Steward, Towne Clerk, Mr. Reading, Mr. Bateman, Mr. Chadwick, etc., to sitt in.

These orders were publiqly read twice and Agreed unto by the Parishioners.

On May 5th, 1696, the Vestry adopted the following resolution with regard to the Charity school children :—

Ordered that the Master of the free schoole and the schollers now taught by him be placed in the Chauncell and that noe others sitt in the Chancell, except persons of Quality that sitt in the 2 front seates of the Chancell, And that all other persons be removed out of the Chancell by the church officers.

At a Vestry meeting holden June 8th, 1702, two very quaint orders were made :—

The churchwardens are desired to Buy the Carpett now brought into this vestry as cheape as they can. Which carpet being cutt into 2 parts will serve the Judges Pew and Sheriffs att the Assizes and Noblemen that come to church at other tymes.

Ordered that Locks be putt on the 2 seat dores of the Bayliffs wives and 48 Seates to keepe out young mayds.

Commenting on this order, the Rev. Dr. Cox *says :—
 “The odious habit of appropriated pews and class distinctions in church led, as in this case, to a distinction being made between married and unmarried women solely on the score of dignity. There are several cases on record where girls were actually cited in ecclesiastical courts for sitting with their mothers. A case is recorded in Archdeacon Hall's *Proceedings in the Diocese of London*, of a young woman named Hayward, ‘that she beinge a

* Northampton Borough Records, ii. 408.

young mayde sat in the pewe with her mother, to the great offence of many reverent women; howbeit that after I, Peter Lewis, vicar, had in the church privatlie admonished the said young mayde of her fault, and advised her to sitt at her mother's pewe dore, she obeyed; but now she sits againe with her mother.'"

Orders as to the seating seem to have been made sometimes by the parochial vestry, at other times by the town Assembly or Council. In September, 1824, the Assembly decided that the whole of the pews in All Saints church belonging to the Corporation be kept exclusively for the use of the members one day in the year, namely on May 29th, being the anniversary of the governors of the Corporation Charity schools, and that the whole of the members are requested to attend the mayor to church on that day; that the pew next adjoining and below the mayor's seat be refitted up and kept for the bailiffs, and the adjoining pew for the common Council, and that the two pews on the opposite side be fitted up in the same manner for the families of the members of the Corporation; and that these pews shall be kept by the beadles every Sunday, and on other days of divine worship.*

In the following year, August 18th, 1825, the Vestry ordered

That in the present state of the church and the great want of room to accomodate the Parishioners, that the chancel is the most proper place for the children of the Sunday school and they are hereby ordered to sit there accordingly, during divine service.

That the sale or letting of seats or pews was not unknown at All Saints in the last century is proved by the following advertisement which appeared in the *Northampton Mercury*, January 17th, 1789:—

A SEAT OR PEW

To be disposed of in All Saints church in the Town of Northampton. A very commodious Seat or Pew calculated for a large Family and to be entered on immediately. Enquire of Mr. J. Pinckard, in the Drapery, Northampton.

The Mayor's Seat.

The official seat of the mayor is a handsome piece of work and was placed in the church in 1680. Over it, in

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 409.

the Corporation pew, are placed the arms of the borough and the following inscription:—*Anno Majoratus II^o. Ricardi White Anno Dom. 1680.* The cushion of the desk in front, upon which the mayor's prayer book was placed, cost the Corporation from time to time a considerable sum* In 1699, 13s. 3d. was paid "for neare one ell of satten, 7 y^{ds} of Lace Silk, and one y^d. of stuff for y^e mayor's Cushen at church." Ten years later, the mayor's cushion once more required repairing, and £1 17s. 6d. was spent in fringe and tassels for its adornment. In 1724 a bill was presented and paid for "flowered Sattin Lace and Tossels for the Mayor's Cushion in Church."*

In 1738 furniture for the mayor's seat was presented by Mrs. Beckett.

In 1742 the Court of Aldermen ordered "that a new cushion be forthwith provided by Alderman Agutter at the Corporation Expense to lay the Mayor's Book on at All Sts. church." In 1794, £10 11s. 9d. was expended in covering this costly cushion in velvet and otherwise adorning it.

In 1713, on the death of Queen Anne, the mayor's seat and the pulpit were hung with black cloth, which cost the Corporation 30s. In later times it became customary to cover the mayor's seat and the pulpit with black on the death of an alderman. In 1810-11, £6 18s. 6d. was spent for this purpose. Between 1820 and 1835 there are several entries of payments of six guineas to the clerk and sexton of All Saints church "in lieu of the cloth put on the Mayor's Seat" on the occasion of the death of an alderman, from which we infer that the black cloth had come to be regarded as the perquisite of these two officials, and that the Corporation, "objecting to this frequent disfigurement of God's house, preferred to pay the money without any result."†

The Galleries.

In order to provide additional seating accommodation in the church, the Vestry of All Saints decided in 1710

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 409.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii., 410.



THE MAYOR'S SEAT.

From photo by Mr. C. Law.

to erect a gallery. Accordingly on May 8th of that year, the following order was made :—

That a case for a gallery be erected in such part of the church as the churchwardens with the consent of the Doctor* shall find to be convenient, not injuring the church.

The expression “case” for a gallery evidently means the outer framework. The seats in the said gallery were to be built and paid for by those who wished to occupy them. The proposal to erect this gallery was strenuously opposed by many of the parishioners, and it was not till 1714 that the application was made to the bishop for a faculty for its erection. The mayor and a considerable number of the Corporation resolved to oppose the granting of the faculty, and it was, doubtless, owing to their influence that the vestry which had resolved upon the erection of the gallery in 1710, now passed the following resolutions :—

April 26, 1714.

Ordered and agreed by a generall consent of this vestry that the Peticon read att this Vestry and handed by them that then approved and a great part of the parish afterwards, Directed to the Bishop of Peterborough, be forthwith sent to London by a speciall messenger and presented to the Bishop to oppose the peticon lately sent by some small number of the parish to the Bishop to build a gallery over the north Ile of the Church to the great prejudice of them that sitt on that side who will neither see nor heare the minister, And that the charge thereof be borne by the Parish and defrayed by the churchwardens.

7th June 1714.

It is ordered and Agreed by the Said vestry that whatever money the present Churchwardens shall expend in any Law Sute or Law Sutes in opposing the Erecting any Gallery in the said Parish Church of All Saints or any Law Sute relating thereto or whatt mony they shall expend in getting the Best Advice they shall be Reimbursd by the Parishioners of the Parish of Allsaints by a Levy.

B. KING, Curate.
 RICH. PARR
 STEPHEN WINSTON } Churchwardens
 THO. CARR, Mayor.

(Here follow thirty-seven signatures.)

The opposition proved ineffectual, and before the close of the year (the bishop's consent having been obtained) a gallery was erected over the north aisle. The work was, however, erected without cost to the parish, the expense

* Dr. King, vicar of All Saints.

being met by those wishing for seating accommodation.

On February 3rd, 1806, a vestry meeting was held to consider the advisability of erecting a gallery on the south side of the church. A committee was appointed to consider the plans and to see that "such alterations do not affect the grandeur and present uniformity of the church." The committee met on February 10th, 1806, and resolved that the churchwardens should cause plans and estimates to be drawn up. They stipulated that "the present desk and Pulpit in the church ought not upon any account to be removed."

On March 27th, the committee reported to the Vestry that in their opinion "it will be very improper to erect a gallery as lately proposed on the south side of the church, as such gallery would be very detrimental to and greatly darken the church." It was resolved accordingly to erect two galleries for the charity children, one on each side of the organ, *viz.*, at the west end of the church, and on the site lately occupied by the charity children, to build twelve pews (afterwards increased to twenty) for the accommodation of the parishioners. The seats thus provided not proving sufficient, it was at length decided by the Vestry that a gallery on the south side of the church should be erected. This resolution was adopted May 8th, 1815, and the work was ordered to be completed in six months. The erection of this new gallery involved the moving of the pulpit "to the east end of the middle aisle," where it remained till 1865, in which year it was placed in the position it now occupies. The galleries were both rebuilt at this restoration.

The Pulpit.

The earliest reference to the pulpit occurs in 1393, when, as has already been related (p. 35), during the Lollard disturbances, "a Lollard assended y^e Pulpit w^a y^e Viccar of y^e church, after the offertory went to y^e Altar to sing his Mass: whom y^e s^d Mai^r followed and took by y^e back of his vestment, to cause him to cease, till y^e s^d Preacher had preached." In 1617 a new pulpit was erected by one John Gibbs, and probably continued in use till its destruction in the fire of 1675.

The first to occupy the new pulpit in 1680 was William

Lloyd, Bishop of Peterborough, afterwards translated to Norwich, and deprived of his see for refusing the oath of allegiance to William III.

In 1738 Mrs. Beckett presented the parish with furniture "for the pulpit, mayor's seat and the organ, as well as the communion cloth." The hanging of the pulpit with black cloth on the death of one of the royal family, or of an alderman has been already alluded to (p. 258).

The interior view of All Saints as it was before its restoration (1866), shews the pulpit standing directly in front of the altar. It was of large proportions, but is described as being "of most admirable workmanship, finely carved with wreaths of flowers and other ornaments. Round the top are eight large eagles, fastened by rings, which they appear to be eagerly biting: this is well executed and has a very striking effect."*

In 1865-6, this pulpit was taken down and a small one erected in its present position. During the restoration of 1888, the pulpit was again altered and a new base provided. A brass plate let into the pedestal bears the following inscription:—

In Memory of Edmund Francis Law, J.P. The pedestal of this pulpit was given by the Society of St. Philip, and the Women's Communicants' Association in this parish, at the restoration of this church, A.D. 1888.

The Font.

The font is a basin of white marble, of no special beauty, and was presented to the new church in 1680 by Thomas Willoughby, Esq. It bears the following inscription:—

Donum Thomae Willoughby Armigeri Ecclesiae Omnium Sanctorum in Northon.

The Organ.

Thirty years after the rebuilding of All Saints, a large organ was provided for the church (1700) and a gallery erected for its accommodation at the west end. In 1706 a definite allowance was made to the organist, as is shown by an entry in the vestry books of the parish:—

Ordered that there be an allowance to an Organist not exceeding twenty

* Birdsall's History of Northampton, 1813.

pounds per ann. out of the monys received for Bell and Grave, if it will reach so far.

On December 23rd of the same year it was ordered

That Mr. Morris be Organist att All Saints and his tyme to begin from Michaelmas last past, By a generall consent.

The organist's stipend appears to have been the cause of considerable dissension, for on March 17th, after the vicar had retired from the Vestry meeting, the following entry was made in the minute book :—

At a Vestry held then in the parish Church of All Saints, Dr. King Vicar, Mr Thos. Carr, Mr. John Labram, Church Wardens, and other parishioners then and there present.

Wee doe Order that the 20^l formerly ordered to an Organist be disannuled as to the future. And that the mony for the Bell and grave be appropriated to the uses as formerly 5^l being already payd by the Churchwardens to be allowed.

This violation of order was promptly set right by the vicar and churchwardens on the next day, when the following entry was made :—

Memorandum that the Order bearing date the seaventeenth day of this Instant March, and said to be entered before Dr. King Minister and Mr. Thomas Carr and Mr. John Labram Churchwardens is a notorious falcity And Wee the Minister and Churchwardens of the parish of All Saints in Northampton doe hereby notifie and declare that Wee were not present at the time of entering the said Order, but that it was entered and Ordered contrary to our approbation and Consent and consequently very illegal. Witnesse our hands the eighteenth day of March Anno Dni 1706.

BENJA KING DD Vic
THOMAS CARR }
JOHN LABRAM } Churchwardens.

Mr. Morris died in 1743, and the *Northampton Mercury* for May 23rd of that year contains the following advertisement :—

Whereas the Organists Place in the Parish of All Saints in the Town of Northampton, is now vacant by the Death of the late Mr. Morris: This is to give Notice that a Sober Person with good Recommendations and an able Hand may, by applying to the Minister and Churchwardens thereof be treated with for the said place.

As a result of this advertisement, William Barrett was appointed. In 1746, £8 was voted to Swarsbrick for tuning and repairing the organ, and in 1765 the sum of £6 was allowed. In 1770 considerable repairs appear

to have been done, for the organ in that year cost the parish £70. Three years later John Barrett became organist, and held the appointment till his death in 1836. The *Northampton Herald* for February 6th, 1836, gives us the following interesting particulars concerning him:—"Died yesterday se'nnight at his house in St. Giles' Square, at the advanced age of eighty-two, John Barrett, Esq., for some years an alderman of this Corporation. He was much esteemed and distinguished in this county and town as a very eminent teacher of music; and he held the situation of organist in the church of All Saints for sixty-two years. His warm-hearted benevolence and liberal hospitality endeared him to a very numerous circle of acquaintances. His memory will long be cherished by those who to the last enjoyed his sincere and hearty friendship."

On March 13th, 1780, the Vestry ordered that the organ be put in repair under the inspection of Mr. Barrett, the expense of which was not to exceed £25. On May 31st this order was rescinded.

On November 17th, 1788, forty guineas was voted for putting the organ into repair, "and that Mr. Barrett be allowed two guineas per annum for tuning and repairing the same." In 1794 the organ was once more in a bad state, and thirty-five guineas was voted by the Vestry for putting it in repair.

In 1803 Mr. Barrett reported that further repairs were absolutely necessary, and it was eventually decided to build a new organ. A contract was entered into with Benjamin Blyth (on behalf of Mrs. Green, widow of the once famous organ-builder) for that purpose, the cost not to exceed £400. "The organ then built," says Mr. E. Law, writing in 1890, "is substantially the present one."

The Vestry resolved on April 15th, 1811 that "a gratuity of £20 per annum be added to Mr. Barrett our organist's salary, for his long services, and for the improvement and additions he has introduced into the Psalmody."

In 1818 the organ gallery was raised and nine additional pipes were added to the organ at a cost of £130, of which £30 was contributed by the Corporation. In 1844 considerable additions were made to the instrument by Messrs. Hill of London, £600 being expended on the work.

Further improvements were effected in 1863, under the direction of Mr. McKorkell, the organist, and in 1883, the organ was removed from the west end of the church to its present position in the north side of the chancel.

Pictures of Moses and Aaron.

At the east end of the chancel, and forming—with a tablet inscribed with the ten commandments—a sort of reredos, were two large paintings of Moses and Aaron, which are said (probably erroneously) to have been the work of Sir Godfrey Kneller. They were removed in 1888 to their present position in the west gallery. Aaron is habited in the dress of the high priest, and has a censer in his left hand. His right hand is stretched out to receive the law from Moses.

Lighting.

With regard to the lighting of the church we can glean but little from the parish vestry books. The following two entries are, however, of interest. The first occurs at the end of the earliest vestry book, and is as follows :—

Mr. Robert Ward gave a Rich hanging Candlestick to this parish the 23rd of August, 1675

This candlestick doubtless perished a few weeks later in the disastrous fire of September 20th. The second entry is just a century later. On December 18th, 1780, the vestry

Ordered unanimously that the custom of lighting the church of (*sic!*) the evening of Christmas Day be for the future abolished, and that the following sums be allowed in lieu of the remaining candles to the church servants :—

To the Upper Sexton	7	0
To the Under Sexton	1	0
To the Organ Blower	1	0
To the Gallery Keeper	1	6
	<hr/>	
	10	6

In 1828 the authorities decided to light the church with gas instead of candles.

Heating.

On October 8th, 1818, a Vestry was called "to take into consideration the erection of stoves in this church." Five years later, November 3rd, 1823, it was decided "to warm the church by means of hot air conveyed through flues up each aisle," at a cost of £80. The work had been completed to the satisfaction of the Vestry on April 19th, 1824. In 1886 considerable alterations were made in the heating apparatus, which is now in the crypt under the present chancel.

The Library.

It is generally stated that the library of All Saints was founded by Henry III., but, as has been remarked above (p. 27), it is most probable that his gift consisted of service books for the church. That a library existed here before the fire we learn from the MS. History of Mr. Lee, who, moreover, informs us that it was kept in the Lady chapel. This first library, whatever it may have been, perished with the church in 1675. Since the rebuilding of the church, the library has been kept in the upper vestry of the north transept. It contains one or two interesting books—one a black-letter copy of Chaucer, printed in 1542—but the majority are of little value. A considerable proportion of them were given to the clergy of the rural deanery by Dr. Crane, prebendary of Westminster, at the close of the eighteenth century.

One or two extracts from the parochial vestry books with regard to the room in which this library was kept are here appended:—

February 16th, 1748-9.

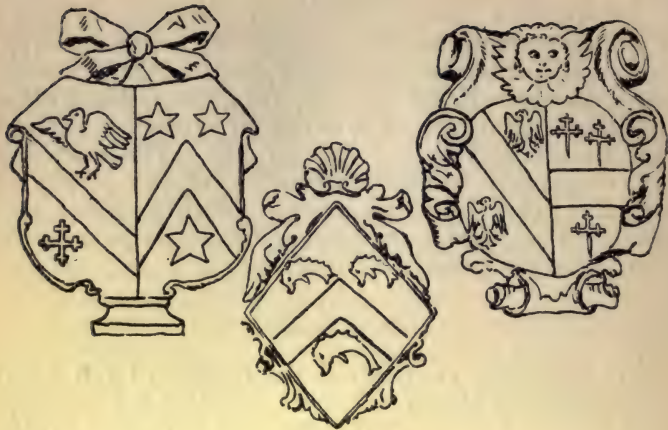
Ordered that no Person for the future do presume to Smoke either in the Library or in the Consistory, great Inconveniencies being found from such Practices.

January 12th, 1773.

Ordered that the Rev^d Mr. Miller, Curate of All Saints, have the liberty to make use of the Library to teach girls writing and accompts: upon such conditions so that the church be not prejudiced by the same.

April 2nd, 1781.

That a receptacle be made in the Library for the depositing papers respecting parish affairs.



CHAPTER XV.

CHURCH PLATE, BELLS, AND CLOCK.

Church Plate.

THE gift of a silver chalice to the church of All Saints by King Henry III. in 1245-6 has been already alluded to (p. 27); as has also the plate possessed by the various gilds connected with the church. An inventory of church goods in 1621 shows that the church then possessed "twoe silver bowles, two flagons of pewter, twoe dishes, and twoe plates for bread." For a large town church, the plate possessed by the parish of All Saints was singularly poor, only two of the vessels being of silver. Moreover, in the report of Dr. Sibthorp's visitation of 1637, it was stated that "the communion cupps are like common drinking bowles." The commissioners ordered that they should be made "chalice fashion." In 1661, September 23rd, the vestry made the following curious order, from which one may infer that during the late troublous times the church flagons had been used for other than church purposes:—

Ordered that hensefoth noe flaggons or other church vessells be lent out to any persons upon any pretense whatsoever.



THE COMMUNION PLATE.

From Photo by Mr. C. Latte.

In 1677 the church received a handsome benefaction from Mrs. Reynolds, mother of Mrs. Conant, wife of the then vicar of All Saints. It is thus described in Lee's MS. history:—"In this year, upon the 5th day of November, Mary Reynolds, widdow, late wife of ye late Ld Bishop of Norwich gave to ye parrish church of All hallows in Northton *ten pieces of plate* for ye use of ye comunion vizt. two large flaggons 2 large cups wth their covers 2 dishes for ye collection and two dishes for ye bread. wth this Inscription upon them. The guift of Mary Reynolds relict of ye late Edw^d Lord Bishop of Norwich to ye parrish church of all hallows in Northton 1677 on every of them."

The old plate, which had apparently escaped the fire, was shortly after put to a curious use. It was sold in 1683 to pay the curate's stipend! The details of this somewhat questionable transaction are given in the minute book of the vestry:—

At a Vestry held the first day of Jany. 1682 [1683] In the Parish Church of All Saints Dr. Conant being Vicar, Mr. Samuel Short and Mr. Robert Styles being churchwardens with divers Parishioners then and there present.

Ordered then that the two old silver cuppes and two silver plates be sold by the churchwardens and the moneys Payd to Mr. Collins towards paying off his arrears If the Bishop will be pleased to give his order or leave for the same.

On June 15th, the bishop's consent was given in the following terms:—

The Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Peterborough has given free leave to the churchwardens of the parish of All Sts. Northton to sell and dispose of the old Church Plate provided the money thereby rayseed be employed to payment of the church or parish debts wch relate to the church. Tho. Sheppard.

Accordingly on August 17th, the old plate was sold and the following memorandum and receipt were entered in the vestry book:—

Memorandum that the old cupps and plates being the Parish plate were sold to Mr. Bayly for Seven Pounds and Five Shillings.

Received then of Mr. William Wallis and Mr. John Carr, churchwardens of the parish of All Saints the aforesaid Seven Pounds Five Shillings by Mr. Samuel Collins late Curate of the said Parish in part of the Arreares due to me for serving the cure there. Wittness my hand the day and yeare aforesaid.

Sam^l. Collins.

The present church plate consists of twenty-three

pieces, which are thus described by Mr. C. A. Markham, in his *Church Plate of Northamptonshire* :—

- 1 & 2.—TWO SILVER COVER PATENS. Weight of each 9 : 15 ; Diam. of each, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$; Diam. of Feet, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$; Height, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$. These are plain and solid.
- 3 & 4.—TWO SILVER CUPS. Weight of each, 26 : 5 ; Height, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$; Diam. of Bowls, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$; of Feet, 6. These are large and massive. The bowls are almost cylindrical, with flat bases and slightly hollowed sides ; the stems are thick, with circular knobs in the centre. The feet are quite plain.
- 5 & 6.—TWO SILVER BREAD HOLDERS. Weight of each, 76 : 7 ; Diam. of each, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$; Diam. of feet, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$; Height, 3. These are large and solid, the upper surface of each flat with moulding round, the foot swelling out below, with plain moulding.
- 7 & 8.—TWO SILVER ALMS DISHES.—Weight of each, 48 : 2 ; Diam. of each 10 $\frac{3}{8}$. These are large and solid.
- 9 & 10.—TWO SILVER FLAGONS.—Weight of each, 192 : 15 ; Height of each, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$; Diam. of Tops, 6 ; of Feet, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. They are very massive, being the heaviest flagons in the county. They have straight sides, domed lids, small purchases which have been bent over, and large handles. The bases swell out at the bottom.

On the lower side of each of the cover patens, on the bowl of each of the cups, on the upper surface of each of the bread holders and alms dishes, and the front of each of the flagons is engraved the legend :—“ The gift of Mrs. Mary Reynolds Relict of Edward late Lord Bishop of Norwich to ye Church of All S^{ts}. in Northampton, A.D., 1677.”

The date of each of these vessels is 1677, and each bears the hall marks :—(1) capital letter W ; (2) leopard's head crowned ; (3) lion passant. On the first eight of these vessels the fourth mark is I S above pellet in shield ; on the ninth and tenth the fourth mark is I A between six pellets, in dotted ellipse.

The whole of this set of silver plate is perfectly plain.

- 11.—SILVER CUP. Weight, 9 : 15 ; Height, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$; Diam. of Bowl, 4 ; of Foot, 3 $\frac{3}{8}$. Date 1718. Hall marks, (1) capital Roman C ; (2) lion's head erased ; (3) Britannia ; (4) CD in plain shield. This is of clumsy design ; the bowl is almost cylindrical, with lip turning out, it is gilt inside, and on the front is the inscription :—“ This chalice and strainer were provided at the charge of the parish of All Saints in Northampton, Anno Dni. 1718. By Mr. John Chapman and Mr. Rich^d Parr, Churchwardens.” The stem swells above and below with circular knob in the centre ; the foot is high and plain.
- 12.—SILVER STRAINER SPOON. Weight 3 : 17 ; Length, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$; Date, 1718. Hall marks (1) capital Roman C ; (2) lion's head erased ; (3) Britannia. This is quite plain ; the bowl is long and narrow.
- 13.—SILVER CUP.—Weight, 9 : 10 ; Height, 7 ; Diam. of Bowl and Foot, 3 $\frac{3}{8}$; Date, 1740. Hall marks, (1) small Roman E ; (2) leopard's head crowned ; (3) lion passant ; (4) RB script letters in quatrefoil. This is very similar to No. 11. The bowl is gilt inside, and on the front is the inscription :—“ This chalice was provided at the charge of the parish of All Saints in Northampton Anno Dni. 1740. By Mr. John Gibson and Mr. Tho. Green, churchwardens.”
- 14 & 15.—TWO SILVER CUPS. Weight of each, 8 : 5 ; Height of each, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$; Diameter of Bowls and Feet, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$; Date of each. 1888. London hall marks. These cups are very similar to No. 11. The bowls also are gilt inside, and on the front of each is inscribed :—“ All Saints Church, Northampton, 1888.”

16.—SILVER PATEN. Small and plain.

17-23.—SILVER PLATED SET. Two cups, one flagon, two bread dishes, and two alms dishes.

The Bells.

The earliest reference to the bells of All Saints occurs in the year 1391. Among the "customs" of the town of Northampton at that time was the ringing of "Bow-bell." The following is an extract from the "customary" dated April 28th, 1391:—

BOW-BELL.

"Forasmuch as in the city of London among other customs, one greatly to be commended is specially observed, viz.: that at the ninth hour of every night, common day and festival day of the year alike, a certain bell in [the church of] Bow, London, called Bowbell, for the space of one hour is solemnly rung, whereby all and singular, working in the city aforesaid and benighted in the fields may be able to betake themselves to the same city more quickly for hospitality. And that no one after the bell aforesaid has been rung in the city aforesaid without a light and a reasonable excuse shall roam about under the penalty of imprisonment and paying a heavy fine to the city aforesaid.

And for the effectual establishment and use of a like custom henceforth in the Town of Northampton, it was provided and in the general conference aforesaid ordained that every night, whether ferial or festival, the great and more solemn bell of the church of All Saints shall be solemnly rung by the sacristan of the same church at 9 o'clock for the space of one hour, that by the sound of the same, all that are in the fields in the darkness of night may the more quickly be able to reach the town aforesaid.

And that no one, of whatever condition he may be, after the ringing of the said great bell is finished, unless he carry a light with him and have a reasonable excuse, shall be found lurking or wandering (*latitans nec vagans*) in the town under pain of imprisonment and payment of a heavy fine, according to the discretion of the mayor for the time being, for the use of the town aforesaid as often as he shall have been convicted in any one of the premisses.*

In the following century (circa 1460), a bye-law was passed, forbidding any huckster to buy "Fysshe nor hennes, nor cokkes nor chese, Eyren [eggs] nor none other vitaile, nor wode, nor cole . . . beforne the prime be Rungen at all Holowen chirche."†

At an Assembly held at the Guildhall of Northampton, January 7th, 1569-70, it was agreed

That Bony the sexten shold have for Ringinge the day bell, yerely ^{x^s}. to be p^d. by the chamberlaines of Northampton. Also that the clarke of All Hallows shall give the sexten towards the grezinge of the bells every quarter of the yeare xiii^d.

* Northampton Borough Records, i. 252.

† Northampton Borough Records, i., 225.

In 1583 the Assembly ordered a rate of £30 to be levied on the parishioners of All Saints to defray the expense of re-casting and re-hanging the six bells of the church. The balance of the account seems to have been made up out of the funds of the Corporation, but as the bells of All Saints were constantly used for town as well as for parish purposes, this was only a fair arrangement. An instance of the use of the All Saints bells by the town authorities occurs in 1642, when the Assembly ordered that "every householder taxed to the poor shall hang out every dark winter evening, a lanthorn with a candle alighted in it, from 5 o'clock till 9, for the lighting of passengers to and fro in the streets." In order that the householders might know the hour when they were to set up their lanthorns, the bellman was ordered to toll the great bell of All Saints every dark evening at five o'clock.*

Again in the following year, owing to the troubles of civil war, the inhabitants of Northampton were daily summoned to work at the fortifications of the town at the tolling of the great bell of All Saints (see page 151).

In 1637, August 17th, the Vestry voted £50 for "the new casting of all the bells, for the repair of the leads, and to defray the charge of a suit for land which did belong to St. Marie's parish." This sum was found insufficient, and an additional £100 was voted, January 5th, 1637-8. These bells perished in the fire of 1675, as is recorded in the parish register of the neighbouring church of St. Sepulchre's.

The 20th of September was a sad and terrible Fire in ye towne of Northton, which burnt almost all ye towne with ye church of Allsaints, and melted the bells alsoe.

"Presently," says a contemporary writer, "All Hallowes' bells jangled their last and doleful knell," perhaps as they fell from their places in the burning steeple, while "the stately tower of the great church turned into a chimney, sucking and drawing up the fire and smoke from within it and discharging them out again in a mighty body."†

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 268.

† A contemporary letter, published in Hartshorne's *Memorials*. See also a paper by Canon Hull in *Northampton Architectural Society's Report*, 1881.

Mr. Lee, who was town clerk at the time of the fire, tells us in his MS. history that the bells were re-cast in 1677: he records the exact weight of each.

In y^e month of Augst, 1677 y^e bells of All S^{ts}. wch fell downe and broak by y^e fire burning y^e fframes, were new cast and y^e weight of each of them is as follows, viz. : the great bell weight twenty-six hundred fifteen pounds and an halfe; The fifth bell sixteen hundred twenty-seven pounds and an halfe; the ffourth bell twelve hundred three quarters two pounds and a halfe; The third bell eleaven hundred 2 quarters and twenty-six pounds; The second bell nine hundred two quarters and twenty pounds; The first bell eight hundred one quarter and twenty-four pounds.

No sooner were the bells in working order than the Vestry passed the following resolution (1677):—"That every one shall pay 5s. to the assessment fund of All Saints for tolling and ringing the great bell upon the death of any person, to be paid to the churchwardens of the said parish before the said bell toll." A similar order with regard to the great bell was made by the Assembly* perhaps to cover the case of non-parishioners.

The Vestry further ordered that 2s. 6d. should be paid for ringing the fifth bell, 4d. of which was to go to the clerk and 8d. to the sexton.

In 1680 the Vestry resolved

That the great bell shall begin to Toll for those that are to be buryed at the hour of the Invitation to the funerall and that it shall toll one full hour and no more. But if the Bell toll longer then there shall be payd two shillings and sixpence per hour for every hour it shall toll longer And in like manner one shilling per hour for the 5th Bell And the small Bell not to toll longer than one hour.

In 1682 (April 27th), the following kindly order was made by the Vestry:—

That the third Bell be tolled for poor prisoners gratis.

An order of a similar nature was made in 1696. At a Vestry meeting held May 5th, the Vestry resolved:—

That the 3rd Bell be Rung by the under sexton this sumer at six of the clock in the morning to give notice to the ffree schoole schollers to hasten to schoole and from Michaelmas to Lady Day att seaven of the clock, except on Sundays, then as formerly.

In 1695 the Vestry met on March 26th and ordered

* Northampton Borough Records, ii, 413.

That Mr. Bagley cast the first Bell and returne weight for weight and that he be payd fifty shillings for casting the same.

The work does not appear to have been a success, for on December 30th, 1705, the Vestry ordered that the first bell be again re-cast.

In 1782 the Vestry determined to improve their peal of bells and ordered (July 22nd)

That the present peal of six Bells be re-cast into eight Bells.

Not content with this, one of the churchwardens (Mr. Wye), whose zeal evidently outran his discretion, ordered a small bell to be hung in the cupola of the church. His action evidently did not meet with the approval of the parishioners, for on February 10th, 1783, the following amusing entry occurs in the Vestry-book :

Ordered that the little Bell Frame and wheel at the top of All Saints church steeple be taken down (if leave can be obtained from the ordinary for that purpose) and returned to Mr. Wye, who ordered the same to be put up without the order or consent of this parish.

It was further ordered

That it be recommended to Mr. Hughes the Vicar of this parish, and it is earnestly recommended to him accordingly, that he do by no means appoint Mr. John Wye, who is his present churchwarden, to be his churchwarden for the year ensuing.

To this resolution the following note is appended :—

N.B.—The order of Vestry for the recommending it to the Vicar of the Parish not to choose Mr. Wye again into the office of churchwarden was owing to this, viz. : because Mr. Wye immediately after an heavy expense incurred by a new Peal of Bells, determined as churchwarden, to repair the organ in the church, and thereby was bringing on the parish an ill-timed fresh incumbrance. The people therefore whose names are above subscribed apprehending he might go on to expend more of the parish money than they approved of, if he continued churchwarden another year, recommended it for that reason only, to the Vicar not to choose him into that office again."

The bells cast in 1782 by Messrs. Chapman and Mears of London are still in use. They bear the following inscriptions :—

1. "I mean to make it understood
That though I'm little yet I'm good.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 33 in.)

2. " If you have a judicious ear,
You'll own my voice is sweet and clear.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 33 in.)
3. " Whilst thus we join in cheerful sound,
May love and loyalty abound.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 34 in.)
4. " Though much against us may be said
To speak for ourselves we're not afraid.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 37 in.)
5. " Ye people all we (? who) hear us ring
Be faithful to your God and King.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 40 in.)
6. " Such wondrous power to music's given
It elevates the soul to heaven.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 42 in.)
7. " To honour both of God and King
Our voices shall in consort ring.
Clarke Hillyard, Esq., Mayor. John Lacey and Wm. Marshall
Baillifs 1782
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
(Diam. 46½ in.)
8. " In Wedlock's bands all ye who join
With hands your hearts unite
So shall our tuneful tongues combine
To laud the nuptial rite.
Messrs. Jno. Wye and Jno. King Churchwardens.
Chapman and Mears of London Fecerunt 1782."
O O O O (Diam. 51½ in.)

Prior to 1782 there were six bells only which appear all to have been from Bagley's foundry.*

In 1829 the Corporation of Northampton presented a set of chimes to this church. They were made by John Briant, bell founder, of Hertford, and played eight tunes, viz. :—

- On Sunday, "Mariners" and "Hanover" alternately
 ,, Monday, "Highland Laddie"
 ,, Tuesday, "Step in"
 ,, Wednesday, a March by the then organist
 ,, Thursday, "T. Billington"

* North's *Bells of Northamptonshire*, 344.

„ Friday, “ Life let us cherish ”

„ Saturday, “ The Happy Clown.”

“ A bell was formerly rung at 6 a.m. in the summer and at 7 a.m. in the winter. This has been discontinued about forty years (1898). The curfew (tenor bell) was also formerly rung at 9 p.m. daily. This, too, has been for many years discontinued. At the death knell thrice three tolls are given for a male, thrice two for a female. There is a tradition that a woman having lost her way on a dark night was enabled to find it again by the sound of the nine o'clock curfew, and that she left a sum of money to perpetuate it.”*

Miss Baker, in her *Northamptonshire Glossary* gives the following rhymes which were, in her day, repeated on Shrove Tuesday by the peasantry, varying in different districts :—

Pancakes and Fritters,
Says the bells of St. Peter's ;
Where must we fry 'em ?
Says the bells of Cold Higham ;
In yonder land thurrow (furrow),
Says the bells of Wellingborough.
You owe me a shilling,
Says the bells of Great Billing ;
When will you pay me ?
Says the bells at Middleton Cheney ;
When I am able,
Says the bells at Dunstable ;
That will never be,
Says the bells at Coventry ;
Oh yes, it will,
Says Northampton Great Bell.
White bread and sop,
Says the bells at Kingsthorp.
Trundle a lantern,
Says the bells at Northampton.

Another Shrove Tuesday doggerel ran as follows :—

Roast beef and marsh mallows,
Says the bells of All Hallows ;
Pancakes and fritters,
Says the bells of St. Peters.
Roast beef and boil'd,
Says the bells of St. Giles'.
Poker and tongs,
Says the bells of St. John's†
Shovel, tongs, and poker,
Says the bells of St. Pulchre's.

* North's *Bells of Northamptonshire*, p. 346.

† St. John's Hospital.

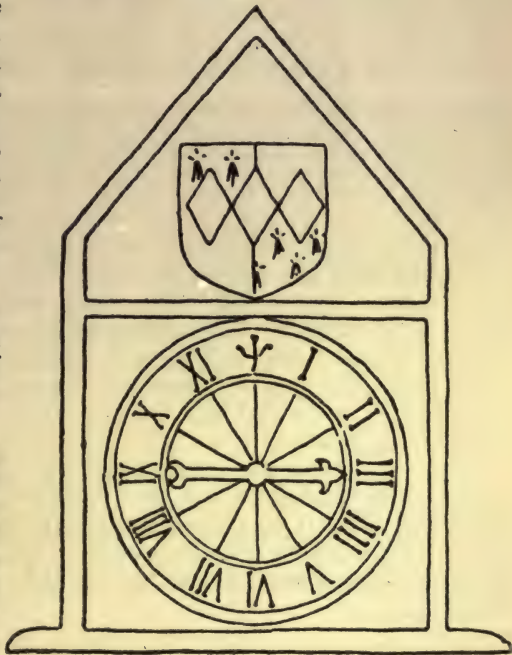
In 1833 the belfry of All Saints' church was entered by force in order to ring the bells in honour of the passing of the Reform Bill.

The Clock and Chimes.

Among the Bridges' MSS. in the Bodleian Library is a sketch by Mr. Wm. Belcher, of Guilsboro', (died in 1609) of the clock of All Saints' Northampton.

The arms above the clock are those of the Freeman family.

The following particulars with regard to the clock and chimes have been gleaned from the parochial vestry books.



In 1623, xl^s. was paid by the churchwardens to Gibson of Kingsthorpe for repairing the clock and chimes. These chimes had been presented by the Corporation in the reign of Elizabeth. Five years later (April 15th, 1628) £12 was voted "to be employed in making a new pair of chimes." The work was put into the hands of John Ley of Lutterworth, who undertook to "make a new pair of chimes in all things compleat and to amend the clock to go orderlie with them and sett the clock hamer to strike upon the great bell and to keep the chimes and clock in repaire for one wholl yeare at his own charge, and to keep them in repair . . . after during his lyf for ijs. vj^d. a quarter."

On April 3rd, 1650, the Vestry ordered

That the dial shalbe fourthwith sett in reparaire, and that the sexton shall looke to it after it is repaired.

In the following year, and again in 1680 and 1829, the Corporation of Northampton presented new chimes to the church of All Saints.

In 1656 the clock appears to have been in bad repair, for at a Vestry meeting held on May 30th, it was

Ordered that the churchwardens forthwith treate wth Wm. Grymes about makeinge a newe clock for all hallowes churche and the old clock to be sett and sold to him for part of the price to be paide for the newe clock And agree with him or some other to put the chimes in reparaire and contynue the same.

In 1727, in consequence of a complaint from the Assembly with regard to the irregularity of the clock, the Vestry (April 3rd) contracted with one Thomas Eyres, of Kettering, clockmaker, to keep the clock and chimes "in good and sufficient Repair and well-going," for 21 years, for 40s. per annum. The arrangement was cancelled in 1730 and Mr. Dawes was appointed clock keeper with a like salary.

A century later the clock keeper's wages had been considerably increased, for at a Vestry meeting holden April 6th, 1821, it was agreed that Mr. William Collins' salary "for winding the chimes and clock twice a day be augmented from 4½d. a day to 6½d. a day, making the same £10."

Sir Richard Wydville KG.



Earl

Rivers.

CHAPTER 16

THE MONUMENTS.

OF the many monuments which adorned the church of All Saints before 1675, one alone remains at the present day. Even this one is doubtful, for though it is dated 1669, it is very possible that it may have been erected a few years after the decease of the person commemorated. It is a black marble tablet within a white border, and is now affixed to the west wall of the south aisle. The inscription, now almost illegible, was as follows:—

Near this place is interred the body of John Travell, Esq., who departed this life Dec. 20th, Ann. 1669, in the 40th yeare of his age. He was son and heir of John Travell, cityzen of London, Esq., and Timothea, his wife, daughter and sole heiress of John Meredith, in the county of Worcester, Esq. Hee married Jane, eldest daughter of William Gore, of London, Esq., and had by her four sons, *viz.*, Thomas, William, John, Alexander, which said Jane his relict in pious memory of her deceased husband, erected this monument.

On a black marble tablet below were the following words:—

In his terris peregrinus eo Libentius iter ad Patriam
inchoabat. Anno bis supra scripto.*

Arms:—Gules a bend between two eagles displayed or (Travell). Impaling gules a fess between three cross crosslets fitchee or (Gore). (See p. 266.)

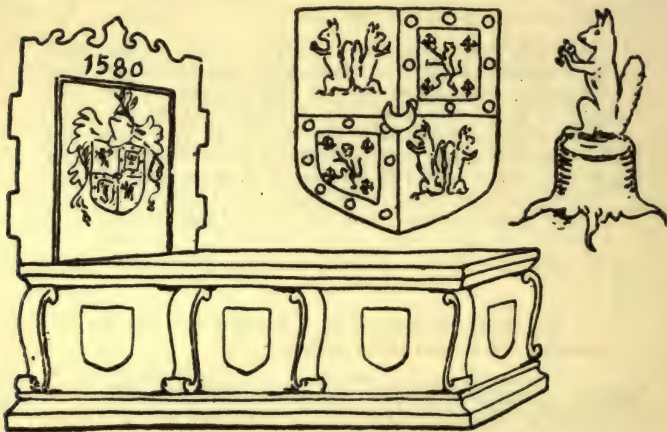
With regard to two other monuments which stood in the earlier church of All Saints, some slight information may be gleaned from the diary of three officers, "a capitaine, a Lieutenn^t and an ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich," who made a tour of the western counties of England in 1635. Their note with regard to the churches of Northampton is as follows:—

* MS. History of Northampton, in the possession of W. D. Crick, Esq., of Northampton.

"There is 4 churches that grace the Towne, in one of wch and that wch to my eye was in my judgem^t the fayrest, I did take notice of two monuments.

"The first was the monum^t of Sr W^m Samuell* [Samwell]; the other, the monum^t of Mr. Creswell, who was a charitable and religious Gentleman and did very well both in this life and at his death. Hee had benee 4 times a carefull May^r of this Corporation, and charitably gave (when he gave up all) 14d. weekly to the poore, wch every Sunday is distributed to them in Bread upon his Tombe."[†]

The monument of Mr. Francis Samwell was erected in 1585[‡] (see p. 246). The accompanying sketch of it is taken from the Belcher MS. in the Bodleian library.§ From the same MS. we learn that "Francis Samwell, Esq^r. bought ye cave of the Towns-men for his Burial and his Posterity."



The arms on the monument (of which Belcher gives a separate sketch) are those of Samwell (argent 2 squirrels sejant addorsed gules) quarterly with those of the Cornish family of Trewarthen. Crest, on a stock a squirrel sejant gules cracking a nut proper.

* The monument was that of Mr. Francis Samwell. His son, Sir William, was buried at Upton.

† Lansd. MSS. 213, fol. 379.

‡ The date on the monument should be 1585. It may have been partially obliterated when the sketch was made.

§ The sketches were made by Mr. William Belcher, of Guilsborough, Northants, who died 1608-9.

Francis Samwell (son of Richard Samwell, Esq., who died May, 1519), was auditor to Queen Elizabeth and appears to have profited considerably by the suppression of the Northampton Gilds. He was patron of the living of Rothersthorpe, Northants, and the pulpit of that church, doubtless a gift from him, still bears the inscription, "F. S., 1579." He died December, 1585, and was buried in the chancel of All Saints, Northampton. He married Mary, sister of William Bill, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Provost of Eton College, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and almoner to the Queen. Their

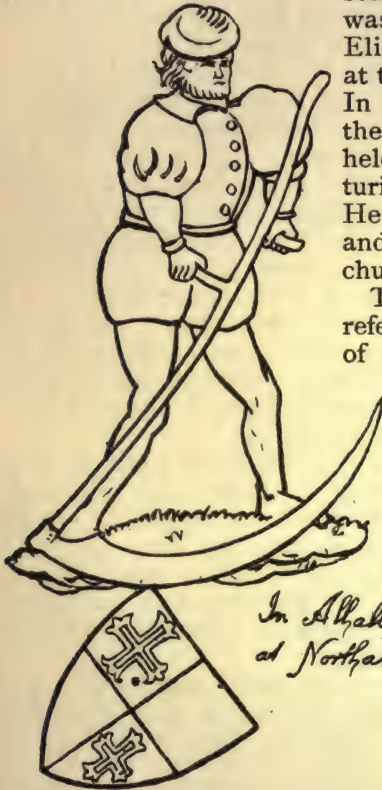
son, Sir William Samwell, was also auditor to Queen Elizabeth, and was knighted at the coronation of James I. In May, 1600, he purchased the Upton estates which were held for upwards of two centuries by his descendants. He died January 25th, 1627, and was buried in Upton church.

The Belcher MS. already referred to, contains sketches of upwards of one hundred coats of arms, taken from stained glass or monuments in the church of All Saints at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

One of the most striking is a drawing of the crest and coat of arms of the Pilkington family. The crest, a mower with scythe, is on a much larger scale than the shield—quarterly i. and iv.

(argent a cross flory voided gules) ii. and iii. blank (?).

The Pilkingtons were a Rutland family, one of whom, Thomas Pilkington, settled in Northampton at the close



of the sixteenth century. The names of many of his children occur in the baptismal and burial registers of All Saints. One of them (baptized March 30th, 1628), was the celebrated Sir Thomas Pilkington, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, who figured prominently as an ardent Whig in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

From the heraldic glass which adorned the windows of the church of All Saints as recorded by Belcher, a few typical coats have been selected (Plates i. and ii.), most of them having been borne by well-known Northamptonshire families.

Plate I.—From left to right. (1) Drayton quartering Mauduit. This was borne by one of the Greens of Boughton, who inherited the estates of the Draytons. (2) Waterville. (3) Lucy. (4) Astley. (5) De L'isle. (6) Lovell of Titchmarsh. (7) Mortimer quartering De Burgh. (8) Beauchamp. (9) Montacute, quartering Monthermer. (10) Fauconberg, quartering Neville. Borne by Sir William Neville, K.G., Lord Fauconberg. (11) In the centre an armed figure holding two shields—(a) Green of Boughton. (b) The same impaled with Mablethorp, for Sir Thomas Green (died 1391) married the daughter and heiress of John Mablethorp. (12) Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester* (13) Northampton Town. There are three representations of the town shield among the Belcher sketches, all of which vary and differ in some respects from the arms as now used. (14) Edward the Black Prince.*

Plate II.—(1) Warrene. (2) The three lions of England with a label of 5 points. (3) Clare. (4) De Dreux, Earl of Richmond.† (5) Stafford. (6) Neville. On the surcoats of the three centre figures the arms of (7) De Bohun. (8) Edward III. (9) Hastings quartering de Valence. (10) De Roos. (11) Quarterly first and fourth, Grey; second and third, Hastings, quartering Valence. (12) Zouche of Harringworth

Of the monuments in the present church, the most interesting are undoubtedly the simple slab erected to the memory of Isabella Haldane, wife of the famous

* The quarters of France are not semee as they should be. This is probably a mistake of Belcher.

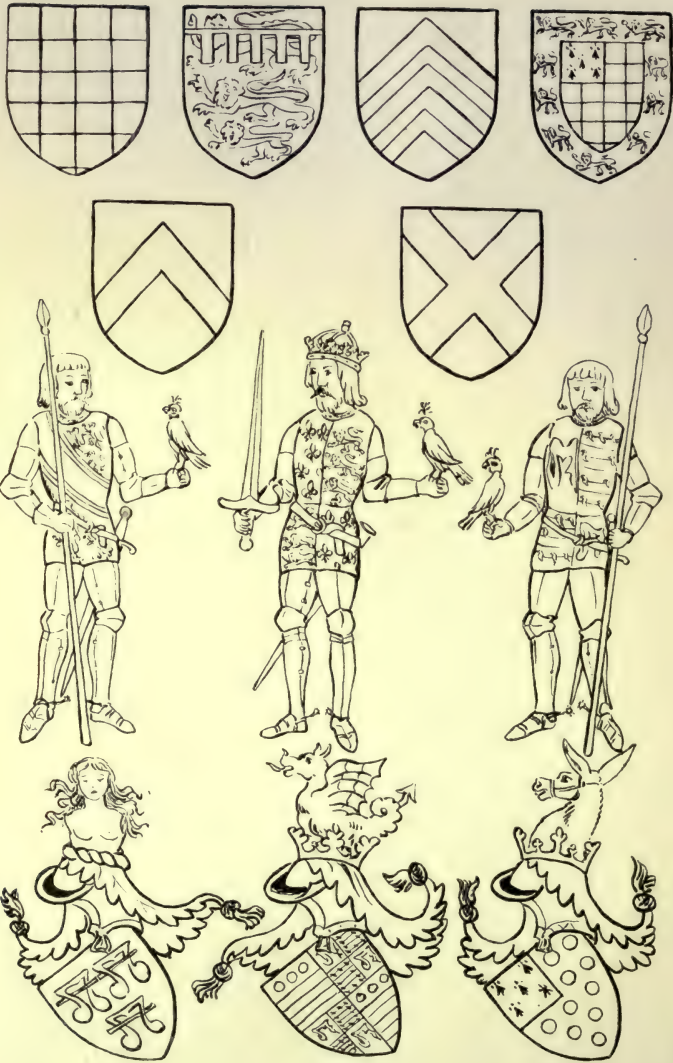
† In Belcher's drawing the Ermine quarter is represented within the border as here shewn.

PLATE I.



HERALDIC GLASS, FORMERLY IN THE CHURCH OF

PLATE II.



ALL SAINTS. (From the Belcher MS., Bodleian Library)

Jacobite leader, Charles Stewart, of Ardsheal; and the equally unimposing tablet to Dr. Conant, who was vicar of All Saints when the church was destroyed in 1675.

This latter monument is on the east wall of the north aisle of the church near the pulpit. It is a plain black marble slab with the following inscription:—

Hic juxta Requiescit
 Johannes Conant, S.T.P.
 E Devonîâ ortus
 Apud Oxonienses enutritus
 Ibidem
 Collegii Exoniensis Rector,
 Academiae Professor Regius,
 Et tertio Vice-cancellarius,
 Collegio valedixit anno 1662.
 Postea
 Archidiaconus Norvicensis
 Ecclesiae Vigorniensis Prebendarius,
 Et hujus ecclesiae Vicarius.
 Vir omnibus hisce muneribus
 (Quorum nullum ambivit, plura refugit)
 par et superior
 Doctrina, Moribus, Pietate, non minusquam annis
 Consummatus obiit
 Anno Aetatis Suae LXXXVI, Domini, MDCXCIII.
 Mensis Martii die 12^{mo}.
 Elizabetha uxor maestis^a viro charissimo
 Hoc marmor amoris et observantiae ergo
 Posuit.

The monument is surmounted by a coat of arms (Conant impaling Reynolds), which forms the headpiece to chapter xiii. (p. 180).

A short sketch of the life of this celebrated vicar will be found in a preceding chapter (pp. 218-222.)

Next to the monument of Dr. Conant is a memorial slab of white, grey, and black marbles, to Alderman Hall, with this inscription:—

Alderman
 Thomas Hall
 Departed this life Nov. 8th, 1810,
 Aged 61.

—
 He served the office of
 Mayor of this Corporation four years,
 And for twenty years was an acting
 Justice of the Peace.
 In the several capacities of
 Magistrate, Relation, and Friend,
 He was impartial, affectionate,
 And sincere.

Thomas Hall was bailiff in 1788, mayor in 1789, 1794, 1795, and 1808. During his second mayoralty the town charter was surrendered and the town officials continued in office for another year. After some opposition, a new charter was granted by the king, and Mr. Hall was summoned to London to receive it. His return to Northampton on April 6th, 1796, was celebrated with great festivities. "The bells were rung during the day; colours were displayed from the top of All Saints church and the turret of the guildhall, and on the arrival of the mayor, with Lord Compton and the Hon. Spencer Perceval, the populace took the horses from their carriages, and drew them through the principal streets, attended by the Corporation with colours flying, and the band of music belonging to the royal regiment of Horse Guards."

In 1808 Mr. Hall was not elected mayor till seven others in succession had been chosen and refused to serve. Shortly after the completion of his fourth term of office the Assembly presented him with their formal thanks "for the handsome manner in which he had consented to serve the office of mayor last year and for his impartial conduct therein."*

In the same aisle, further westward, is a simple tablet of white marble to the memory of the famous Dr. Stonhouse:—

Sacred
To the Memory
Of her affectionate husband,
Sir James Stonhouse, Bart.,
Doctor of Physic.
The Projector Friend, and Physician
Of the County Infirmary
Established in the year 1743,
Where the lame walk and the sick are healed.
Afterwards
He was for many years
Rector of Great and Little Cheverel, Wiltshire,
And exemplary as a Minister.
But in that immortal state
On which he is now entered,
How dim is human excellence.
Reader,
It is his superior honour at this period
That he was partaker with her
In the Christian character

* Northampton Borough Records, ii. 41.

With whom he was united
 In the conjugal relation.
 He died the 8th day of December,

1795
 In the 80th year of his age.

The Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, Bart. was born July 9th, 1716, and educated at Winchester and St. John's College, Oxford. Having chosen medicine as his profession, he took up his residence in London, (1736) and studied for two years under Dr. Nicholls, a celebrated anatomist, but a pronounced deist. "Under him," as Dr. Stonhouse afterwards said, "I commenced infidel, and continued as such for seven years." From 1738 to 1740 he attended at St. Thomas' Hospital, after which he went abroad for two years, and studied at Lyons, Montpelier, Marseilles, and Paris. In 1742 he returned to England and settled at Coventry, where at the age of twenty-six he married Anne, daughter of John Neale, Esq., M.P. for Coventry, a former maid of honour to Queen Caroline.

In the following year he removed to Northampton and continued to practise there for twenty years. One of his first acts on arriving at Northampton was to set on foot a subscription for founding a hospital in the town, a scheme which, after much opposition, he succeeded in carrying out. To this institution he was appointed physician-in-ordinary, September, 1743, and held the office for thirteen years. In 1744 the poet Akenside established himself in Northampton and did his utmost to oust Dr. Stonhouse. In this he was unsuccessful, though we learn from contemporary writers that he adopted the most violent measures. As has been already stated, Stonhouse came to Northampton as a professed atheist, but by the influence of the celebrated Dr. Doddridge, he was won over to Christianity. He never, however, joined the body [Congregationalists] to which Dr. Doddridge belonged, but attached himself to the Church of England. One of his closest friends was the famous J. Hervey, the poet, vicar of Weston Favell, many of whose published letters are addressed to Dr. Stonhouse. When once convinced of the truth of Christianity, Stonhouse devoted himself heart and soul to the propagation of its teachings. Though not then

in holy orders, he constantly preached to the patients in the Northampton Infirmary, and wrote two tracts for their use.

In 1747 he lost his first wife, but seven years afterwards he married again, his second wife being Sarah, only child of Thomas Ekins, Esq., of Chester-on-the-water, near Wellingborough, who brought him a considerable fortune.

In 1755 a committee was formed for superintending the publication of Bridges' *History of Northamptonshire*, and Dr. Stonhouse was one of the most active members. In the following year, pressure of work compelled him to resign his position at the infirmary, though he still acted as physician-extraordinary.

In 1763, at the age of forty-seven, Dr. Stonhouse determined to relinquish the practice of medicine and to seek ordination. Accordingly he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Hereford, and priest the week following by letters dimissory to the Bishop of Bristol. His first clerical appointment was the lectureship of All Saints, Bristol, which he held for nearly twenty years. In May, 1764, he was presented by William, Viscount Folkestone to the living of Little Cheverell, near Devizes, Wilts. "As a preacher," says his biographer, "he is said to have been without a rival. His eloquence was simple, grand, and energetic. He convinced the mind while he warmed the heart."

In 1782, on the death of his cousin, the tenth baronet, Stonhouse succeeded to the title, which had been conferred on the family by Charles I. In the same year he resigned the lectureship of All Saints, Bristol, and began to preach in the smaller church of St. Werburgh's. He died December 8th, 1795, at the advanced age of eighty years. He was the author of many tracts and sermons, many of which were published during his lifetime. An anonymous life of Dr. Stonhouse was brought out in 1844, and published by Mr. Henry Parker, of Oxford.

On the west wall of the north aisle is an interesting monument to the memory of two Northampton benefactresses, Dorothy Beckett and Anne Sargeant, founders of the Blue Girls' School.

The inscription on their monument is as follows :—

Near this place lye the Bodies of Mrs. Dorothy Beckett,
(Relict of Mr. Thomas Beckett, late of Congleton, in the
County of Chester, Surgeon), and Mrs. Anne Sargeant,
Daughters of Mr. Thomas Sargeant, late Alderman
of this Corporation.

Mrs. Anne Sargeant dyed the 1st of Nov.,
1738, Aged 68.

Mrs. Beckett dyed the 13th of March,
1747, Aged 90.

They jointly settled an Estate in Trust
For cloathing and teaching Thirty
Poor girls of this Parish.

Mrs. Anne Sargeant gave
By will £150 to adorn
this church.

Arms :—Argent a chevron between three dolphins
naiant and embowed sable.

Above the inscription is carved the figure of a school
girl, holding in her hand a scroll with the words “Go
and do thou likewise.”

On the west wall of the nave is a white marble tablet
to various officers of the Northamptonshire Regiment,
who died in India 1862 and 1864. Above is an arrange-
ment of flags, swords, muskets, etc., and at the summit
the regimental number, XLVIII., surrounded by a scroll
with the word “Talavera,” one of the “honours” of the
regiment. The inscription reads thus :—

Sacred
To the memory of
Colonel Archibald Neil Campbell,
Died at Mussoorie, 13th October, 1864, Aged 54 years.
Major Walter Pownall,
Died at Darjeeling, 28th December, 1864, Aged 43 years.
Lieutenant H. J. Wilkinson,
Died at Lucknow, 28th November, 1862, Aged 30 years.
Ensign E. A. Windsor,
Died at Agra, 25th November, 1862, Aged 25 years.
Quartermaster J. Maitland,
Died at Lucknow, 23rd August, 1862, Aged 57 years.
This tablet is erected by their brother Officers
of the 48th (Northamptonshire) Regiment of Foot.

Closely adjoining is a second monument to a colonel
of the 48th :—

Sacred to the Memory of
 Colonel Benjamin Riky,
 5th Class of the Order of the Medjidie,
 And Knight of the Legion of Honor,
 Who commanded the 48th Northamptonshire Regiment of Foot.
 For seven years,
 And died at Allahabad, East Indies,
 On the 22nd November, 1860, Aged 51,
 Having served in the corps for twenty-four years.
 This tablet is erected to his Memory
 By Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates
 who have served in the 48th Regiment
 And by those Officers of H M. Indian Forces
 Who were attached to the Regiment
 And served with it under his command
 During the years 1858, 59, and 60.

Above the inscription is an arrangement of military flags and weapons similar to that on the previous tablet, and above these is a laurel wreath from which are suspended a representation of the medals and orders of the deceased.

To the left of the door of the south aisle is the interesting monument to Isabella Haldane or Stewart. It is of white marble and reads as follows :—

In Diversorio, cursum finivit honestum
 Isabella Haldane,
 Joannis Haldane de Lanrick Filia,
 Caroli Stewart de Ardsheal Vidua,
 Cui in vicibus vitae difficillimis,
 Pectus profecto bene praeparatum.
 Bello enim plusquam civili,
 Domo a militibus spoliata et eversa,
 In casa paupercula parturire,
 Noctaque etiam proxima
 Liberis comitata tenellis,
 Per nives fugere
 Coacta est innocens.
 Post amoris exilii que annos undecim,
 Vidua in re tenui relicta,
 Numerosam aluit prolem,
 Operaque indefessa fauste stabilivit.
 Denique diram laborans hydrope
 Ictus matri senili gravissimos
 Pia fortitudine iteratos excepit ;
 Confidebat etenim, se Liberos optimos
 Paululum praegressos,
 In coelis iterum Visuram.
 Infestis igitur Viator
 Ne nimium trepida ;
 Vincat iter durum Pietas.
 Obiit 8 Aprilis 1782,
 Annoque : Aetatis 69.

[TRANSLATION.]

In an inn,* after an honourable career, died Isabella Haldane, daughter of John Haldane of Lanrick and widow of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal. She had a heart well trained by the most arduous vicissitudes of life, for in a worse than civil war, when her home had been sacked and spoiled by soldiers, she, though guiltless of all blame, was obliged to take refuge in a miserable hovel and there to bring forth her child; and on the very next night thence to flee through the snow, accompanied by her young and tender children. After eleven years of love and exile, she was left a widow in straitened circumstances, but by unwearied exertions she managed to bring up her large family and settle them happily in life. At length, smitten by a terrible dropsy, she endured with pious fortitude its reiterated attacks, so painful to one of her advanced years, buoyed up always by the hope that she should see again in heaven her children dear, who had only preceded her a little while. O traveller in adversity, be not too much dismayed. Let Piety surmount the path of difficulty. She died April 8th, 1782, Aged 69.

Over the inscription is a shield bearing the arms of the Stewarts of Ardsheal, Quarterly first and fourth or, a fess chequé azure and argent for Stewart. Second and third a galley with sails trussed up and oars in action, sable for Lorn. In pretence, Haldane of Lanrick. Quarterly first and fourth argent a saltire engrailed sable, for Haldane. (2) Argent a saltire engrailed between four roses gules, for Lennox. (3) Or a bend chequé sable and argent, for Menteith. Crest, a unicorn's head horned or.

The motto "Quhidder will zie" is old Scots for "Whether will ye?" leaving peace or war to the choice of their opponent and signifying that the bearers of the motto were equally ready for either.

Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, the husband of Isabella Haldane, was descended from John Stewart, second son of John fifth Baron of Appin [temp. Elizabeth]. He was a man of great personal strength, and was accounted one of the best swordsmen in the highlands. On one occasion he disarmed and wounded the famous Rob Roy, who thereupon threw his sword into Lochvoil, saying it was the first time it had failed him and that Ardsheal was the first man who had drawn blood from him. It is said that the result of this combat stood him in good stead in his suit for the hand of Isabella Haldane.

* She died at the "Peacock," as is shown by the following extract from the All Saints burial register:—"April, 1782. Isabel Stewart of Ardsheal in North Britain, died in this town at y^e Peacock Inn on the 8th and was buried in All S^{ts} Church in this parish on the 12th."

Charles Stewart was, like the rest of his family, an enthusiastic Jacobite and kept up a constant correspondence with the chevalier at Fontainebleau. In 1739 he was appointed to the rank of colonel in the forces hereafter to be raised on behalf of the Pretender, and the commission is still in the possession of the family. The chief of the Appin Stewarts was at this time a minor, and Ardsheal acted as "tutor," and virtually managed the affairs of the clan.

In 1745 he took the field for Prince Charles at the head of the Appin regiment, 360 strong, and was one of the Prince's most trusted advisers. At the battle of Preston Pans, on September 21st, 1745, the Stewarts of Appin and the Camerons were the first to attack the enemy. Charging down upon Sir John Cope's artillery in true Highland fashion, they succeeded in capturing it, Stewart of Invernahyle taking prisoner Colonel Whitefoord, after he had fired off five of the six field-pieces with his own hand.

At the battle of Falkirk, January 17th, 1746, Ardsheal and his men again played an important part, the Stewarts being among the few regiments which succeeded in repulsing Hawley's dragoons.

Three months later, at Culloden, they fought on the right wing of the Pretender's army in company with the men of Athole and the Camerons. Their heroic charge was one of the chief features of the day.

An eye-witness writing in 1748 says:—"Those on the right (Stewarts and Camerons) with their glittering swords, ran swiftly on the cannon, making a dreadful huzza and crying 'Run ye dogs.' They broke between the grenadiers of Barrel and Monroe, who had given them fire when at the muzzles of their guns. When within two yards of the cannon, they received a discharge of cartridge shot, while those who crowded into the opening made by the havoc, received a full fire from the centre of Bligh's regiment. They who survived possessed themselves of the cannon and attacked the regiments sword in hand . . . but such a continual fire was kept up on their front and flank that nearly all the right wing which broke in were killed or wounded."

So terrific had been the onslaught that when the battle was over, the bodies of the Highlanders were

found heaped on each other three and four deep, and of all the clans none lost so heavily as the Stewarts. The banner borne by the regiment at Culloden is still in the possession of a member of the family. It is of light blue silk with a yellow cross of St. Andrew. It was carried by one of the Ardsheal family who was killed in the fight, and the banner is stained with his blood. When the battle was found to be irretrievably lost, this banner was torn from the staff by one of the clan, who wrapped it round his body and managed to make his way from the field. It thus escaped the fate of the banners of twelve of the other Highland clans which were burnt at the Market Cross at Edinburgh on June 6th, 1746.

After the battle of Culloden, the clans dispersed, and though Lochiel and Ardsheal did their utmost to draw them together again, they met with little success. On the 8th of June, 1746, "Stewart of Ardsheal and the other officers of the Stewarts" were attainted of high treason, and Haldane of Lanrick and his sons (the father and brothers of Isabella Haldane) shared the same fate. They succeeded in making their escape to France, but before leaving his native land, Ardsheal paid a secret visit to his family. He reached Appin unnoticed, and "lay concealed in a cave still called Ardsheal's cave, being generally supplied with food by a little maiden, the daughter of one of his tenants, who daily drove out a few lambs to the hill and watched the opportunity of communicating with her hidden chief. The district was occupied by English soldiers and the peasantry were all acquainted with Ardsheal's hiding place. but regardless of the rewards offered for his capture, they were faithful to the trust reposed in them. After a few weeks' concealment in the cave, Ardsheal found an opportunity of escape." Accompanied by four other Jacobites, he got on board a French ship, and evading his pursuers, reached France in safety.

Meanwhile (his estate having been confiscated) the position of his wife and children was a distressing one, though for a time their sufferings seem to have been mitigated by the kindness of the officer in command of the district. But this merciful treatment was not destined to be of long duration, for on December 15th of the same year, Ardsheal House was sacked, and the "Lady Ardsheal" was compelled to take refuge in a

hut. Even here she was not safe. The very night after her confinement she was compelled to fly through the snow with her new born infant and five other children, to a fresh place of refuge.

After many adventures, she succeeded at length in escaping to France, where she rejoined her husband. They settled quietly at Sens, where they were enabled by the generosity of their Ardsheal tenants, to live in comparative ease and comfort. "Contributions in the name of rent (in addition to that which they were compelled to pay to the Crown receiver) were regularly remitted to Ardsheal by his old tenants, and he was thus enabled to dispense hospitality and render assistance to the Highland gentlemen around him who were less favourably situated."

After a time, however, this source of income was cut off by the eviction of many of his faithful clansmen, and he was compelled to fall back upon the bounty of the chevalier. James, who seems to have had the deepest regard for Ardsheal, sent him 500 livres from Rome and induced Louis XV. to grant him 3,000 francs a year. The Archbishop of Sens and other neighbouring landowners, as a mark of their sympathy, gave him the right of hunting over their respective domains. After an exile of eleven years, Ardsheal died at Sens, March 15th, 1757, and his wife, in order to be near her aged father, who was also an exile, removed to the neighbourhood of Paris. In 1779 she returned to England, but her health was shattered, and she died at Northampton of dropsy, April 8th, 1782.

At the age of nineteen she had married Ardsheal (1732) and was by him the mother of ten children, eight of whom grew up to manhood or womanhood. One of these, strange to say, was Anne, born the night after the sacking of Ardsheal House. She married Dr. Robert Graham, of Balchapple and Leckie and had issue eleven children.*

In the south-west corner of the south aisle is a white

* A fuller account of the Ardsheal and Haldane families is to be found in an interesting history of *The Stewarts of Appin*, by J. H. J. Stewart, F.S.A. (Scot.), and Lieut.-Col. Duncan Stewart, late 92nd Highlanders.

marble slab to a member of the Lumley family. It bears the following inscription :—

In memory of
Major General
Sir James Rutherford Lumley, K.C.B.,
Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army
(Only son of the Revd. James Lumley, Rector of
St. Andrew's, Barnwell in the county of Northampton),
Who died on the 1st of March, 1846,
In the 72nd year of his age
And of Caroline, his wife,
Daughter of Thomas Wilkinson, Esq^{re}., Captain in
The Royal Horse Guards Blue,
Who died on the 28th of November, 1820,
In the 34th year of her age.
Also of their third and youngest Son,
Robert Wilkinson Lumley,
Who died on the 7th of April, 1820, in the 2nd year of his age.
Likewise of Arabella, the first wife of
James Rutherford Lumley, late a Captain in the Bengal Army
(Son of Sir James Rutherford Lumley),
and youngest daughter of
The Revd. Thomas Chambers Wilkinson,
Rector of All Saints, Stamford, in the county of Lincoln,
Who died on the 3rd of February, 1841,
In the 25th year of her age.
And Robert Turner Lumley,
Son of the said Captain James Rutherford Lumley,
By his present wife, Clara Letitia,
Daughter of Major-General William Conrad Faithful, C.B.,
Who died on the 2nd of June, 1848, in the 3rd year of his age
All of whom died in India.
This tablet is erected by the said
Captain James Rutherford Lumley.

—
James Rutherford
Lumley,
Major, H.E.I.C.S.,
Born at Fort William,
Calcutta,
October 27, 1810,
Died January 24, 1885.
Buried at St. Nicholas'
Sutton, Surrey,
Aged 74.
"Asleep in Jesus."

There are two other monuments in All Saints to members of the Lumley family, but they are of no special merit or interest.

In the south aisle is a memorial tablet to Dr. Daniel Danvers, a Northampton worthy of considerable note in the seventeenth century. It is thus inscribed :—

I. S. E.

Daniel Danvers, M.D.,
 Cum duobus filiis ejusdem nominis
 Obiit prope septuagenarius
 XII. die Maii, A.D. MDCXCIX.
 Marmor plerumq: nimis jactabundum
 De se gloriari vivus ipse vetuit
 Vir alias multis nominibus celebrandus
 Monumento tamen non caret qui vitat
 Quippe qui bene vixit
 In ore hominum est diu victurus
 Epitaphiumq: dabit nuncia Fama
 Marmore vel Ære Perennius
 Plenisq: tabulis multo locupletius
 Jane Danvers, died Jan. 6, 1739,
 In the 96 year of her age.

Dr. Daniel Danvers was a fellow of New College and Trinity College, Oxford, being founders' kin, his grandmother, Susanna Pope, having been a niece of Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, whilst his great-great-grandmother was Elizabeth Fiennes, daughter of Richard, Lord Say and Sele, 1550, kin of William of Wykeham, founder of New College. He was a Northamptonshire man, the family seat being Culworth House.

He married Jane, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Knightley, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and vicar of Charwelton, by whom he had two children, Knightley Danvers, Barrister-at-Law, Deputy Recorder of Northampton, and Jane, who married John Rushworth, of Northampton, and is buried in All Saints church near the grave of her father.

Dr. Danvers was one of the commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament to superintend the rebuilding of Northampton after the fire of 1675. His house (see p. 163) was the only one on the Market Square which escaped destruction and served as a means of egress for the terror-stricken townspeople.*

On the same wall a little further eastwards, is a stone to the memory of Benjamin King the younger, who was vicar of All Saints from 1717 to 1731. His father and grandfather held the same office before him—John Conant, 1671-90, and Dr. Benjamin King 1690-1717. The inscription on the monument reads as follows:—

* *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, iv. 99 and Baker's *History of Northants*, i. 606.

M. S.
 Benjamine King A.M.,
 Patris Benj: King et avi Joh. Conant S.T.PP.
 In hac ecclia haud indigno successori
 Ubi per quindecim annos
 Eâ bonarum literarum cognitione,
 Eâ prudentiâ et vigilantia.
 Eâ vitæ morumq: integritate,
 Eâ in sacris peragendis gravitate
 Ac vocis modulatione,
 Eâ deniq: comitate et beneficiâ
 Se insignem reddidit
 Ut difficile sit dictu,
 Suorū amantior, an suis carior fuisset.
 Obiit 25° die Octobris
 A.D. 1731. Æt. 45.
 Elizabetha vidua
 P

A sketch of the life of Benjamin King is given in chapter xiii., p. 223.

Still further eastward is a memorial of another vicar of All Saints. :—

Sacred to the memory
 Of the Rev. William Hughes, M.A.
 Late Vicar of this Parish,
 And of Spratton in this county,
 Who died on the 19 day of Feb., 1794,
 In the 66 year of his age.
 And also
 Of Elizabeth his widow,
 Who died on the 14 day of July, 1801,
 In the 69 year of her age.
 Tho' small the marble that records their name
 Great claim to honor each lov'd parent bore:
 The proud may languish for such well-earn'd fame—
 They liv'd true Christians—Praise can say no more!

For a short sketch of the life of William Hughes see p. 225.

On the north side of the chancel is a small brass plate let into the panelling :—

In loving memory of
 The Revd. Sydney Gedge, M.A.
 Vicar of this Parish
 From May, 1859, to July, 1877,
 And Rural Dean of Northampton.
 This tablet is placed here
 By his children
 He was born April 3rd, 1802,
 And died August 29th, 1883.
 "Neither is he that planteth anything,
 neither is he that watereth, but God
 that giveth the increase."—1 Cor. iii. 7.

Over the south gallery is a tablet to the memory of a former curate of All Saints who lost his life on Snowdon. It is thus inscribed :—

Sacred
 To the memory of
 Henry Wellington Starr, B.A.
 Curate of this Parish
 Who perished on Snowdon
 During a tour in North Wales
 Sep. 15, 1846.
 Aged 32.
 His Remains
 Discovered, 1 June, 1847,
 Are interred in the Churchyard
 Of Llanberis, Carnarvonshire.
 This Tablet
 Is erected by the Teachers
 Of the Parochial Sunday Schools
 And other Friends
 Who lament his melancholy end
 And by whom his character
 Personal and Ministerial
 Was highly esteemed.
 " In the midst of life we are in death."
 " Be ye ready also, for the Son of Man
 cometh at an hour when ye think not."

A memorial stone over the north gallery records the benefactions of Dr. William Stratford :—

To the Memory of
 William Stratford, Esq., LL.D.,
 Late Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond,
 Who by his will dated the 16th of July, 1753
 (Proved at Chester)
 Bequeathed various sums of money for charitable
 purposes, and the advancement of piety and morality
 To this town the following :
 For the poor and putting poor children apprentices
 of this parish £500
 For the same purposes in the three other parishes £500
 For the Corporation Charity School then establishing £100
 For the County Hospital £100
 The bequest for the benefit of this parish was applied
 in the purchase of land at Helmdon.
 The bequest for the use of the other three parishes was
 Invested in the purchase of land at Denton.
 The rents of these estates are annually appropriated
 According to the will by the respective trustees
 Who
 To record the piety and charity of the benevolent donor
 Have caused this tablet to be erected.
 MDCCCXXXI.

Dr. William Stratford was born at Northampton in 1679, and educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of LL.D. He served in a legal capacity under the successive bishops of Chester, and was eventually appointed commissary of the Arch-deaconry of Richmond. "The public and active part of his life," says Freeman, "was employed in the administration of justice (in which his abilities were as eminent as his decrees impartial) and in an assiduity in doing good in which he was unwearied." By means of his benefactions and exertions, upwards of sixty small church livings, some of them not much exceeding twenty pounds per annum, were considerably augmented. He died at Lancaster, September 7th, 1753, leaving the bulk of his fortune to charitable uses.

The Monuments in the Portico.

The monuments in the portico of All Saints, once much more numerous, now number only four. The most interesting is that to the memory of John Bailes, who is said to have reached his 126th year.

The Sketch of April 12th, 1899 has the following interesting little note on this worthy:—"John Bailes' grave stone declares that he lived to be 126, but local tradition adds yet another four years to the total! This revised version is reached thus: Bailes affirmed that when he was a boy of twelve he was present at Tilbury when Queen Elizabeth reviewed her troops, and as that was in 1588, and he died in 1706, his age was 130 instead of 126. Against this is the testimony of the parish register, which reduces the age of *its* John Bailes to about 114. There is no proof that the John Bailes of the register was the Bailes of the tablet. The latter had a daughter who claimed two years more than a century for her span of life, and that achievement counts certainly in her father's favour. Leaving him, then in undisturbed possession of his 130 years, John Bailes began life under Queen Elizabeth and finished it under Queen Anne, thus seeing out all these rulers; James I., Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., James II., and William and Mary!"

The following is the inscription on his monument :—

Here under lyeth
 John Bailes. Born in this
 Town, he was above 126
 years old and had his hearing,
 sight and Memory to ye last.
 He lived in 3 Centurys
 And was buried ye 14th of Apr.
 1706.

Affixed to the wall of the Portico on the south side of the central door into the church, was a marble tablet to the memory of the victims of a fire at the Shoulder of Mutton Inn on the west side of the Market Square. Mr. Marriot, the landlord of the inn alone escaped by getting out of the garret window and over the roofs of two adjoining houses into a garret window of the third. The other occupants of the house, eight in number, all perished. The tablet erected to their memory fell down in December, 1881, and was entirely demolished. It bore the following inscription :

This Marble was
 Erected to perpetuate the
Memory of the awful
 Dispensation of Providence at one
 O'clock in the morning of the 17th Feby., 1792 ;
 The lower part of the house of H. Marriot
 On the Market Hill was discovered to be on Fire,
 And the flames ascending with dreadful rapidity,
 He was obliged to leave his affrighted *little ones* hovering
 round their distracted Mother and by an Extraordinary
 Effort gained the Roof of an adjoining house, calling aloud
 For that help which, alas, could not be procur'd, for in a few
 Moments his whole Family consisting of a *beloved Wife*,
 5 Children, and 2 Lodgers perish'd in the flames
 Reader,
 The Almighty has hitherto preserv'd thee from scenes
 Of deep Distress, let thy Heart glow with gratitude and
 At the same time let thy Bosom expand with
 Benevolence towards thy suffering
 Fellow creatures.
 The sad remains of this unfortunate Family
 were carefully collected and
 decently interred in this
 Church Yard*

* Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, 1888-9, p. 234

At the southern end of the portico a monument has recently been erected with this inscription :—

In grateful memory of
The Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and
Private Soldiers of the Northamptonshire
Regiment who died for their country in the
Tirah Campaign of 1897-8, this tablet is placed by
The County and the Borough of Northampton, and
By Officers formerly belonging to the Regiment.

KILLED IN ACTION.

Lieut. C. L. Giffard	Private H. Burgess
Lieut. J. T. Waddell	" D. Hearn
2nd Lieut. A. H. Macintire	" A. W. Line
Color-Sergt. R. Luck	" G. E. Newell
Sergt. H. Jackson	" W. E. Packington
Lance-Sergt. A. Goffey	" G. Passingham
Corporal J. W. Ashwell	" R. Plummer
" F. W. Pearsall	" G. Prosser
" J. M. Roddy	" G. Okey
Lance-Corporal. F. V. Gardiner	" G. H. Quinn
Drummer H. Little	" L. Underwood
" J. E. Simpson	" D. Worth
Private J. Bull	" J. Woodford

DIED OF WOUNDS.

Lance-Corporal. J. W. Cooper	Private H. Dunn
Private G. Burton	" J. Rumble

DIED ON SERVICE.

Band-Sergt. T. Flannigan	Private H. Hayday
Corporal F. Burrige	" E. H. Kent
Private J. Barrett	" A. E. Knightley
" T. Barritt	" H. J. Langdon
" J. Beaver	" C. E. Lawrence
" A. J. Blackwell	" S. McCann
" W. Broomfield	" J. Page
" T. England	" T. Pantling
" C. Elmer	" C. H. Pomfret
" F. Evans	" A. Simpson
" E. Fitzjohn	" J. White
" A. Harding	

CHAPTER



THE CHURCHYARD.

THE earliest reference to the churchyard of All Saints so far as is known, occurs in a charter of the end of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century, in which Simon de St. Liz (II.), Earl of Northampton, grants to the Priory of St. Andrew a tenth of the profits arising from a fair held in the church and churchyard on All Saints Day. As has already been pointed out, this fair was removed from the sacred precincts by Henry III., at the request of Bishop Grosseteste, and was ordered to be held on the site of the present Market Square.

Passing on to the fifteenth century, we find an interesting reference to the "great oak" in the churchyard. In 1493, November 15th, Simon Rowland of Northampton leaves his body to be buried "in the churchyard of the Paryssh chyrche of all Hallowes in North: nyghe to the great oke growyng there."*

The crowded state of the churchyard of All Saints is attested to as early as 1633, in a curious work by a Northampton Physician, entitled *The Diet of the Diseased*.† Speaking of the injury done to the health of the living by the too frequent interments in town churches

* The will is witnessed by Master John Cokks, clerk, and Robert Myddleham, Doctor and Vycar of All Hallowes, and John Marshall, at the Signe of the Harpe.

† Hart's *Diet of the Diseased*, 142-3. A copy of this scarce work is in the possession of Mr. Stewart Beattie of Northampton.

and cemeteries, where "often-times new graves are digged for new guests, before the old inhabitants be quite metamorphosed into their mother mold," the learned doctor goes on to say—"Sure I am this great church of All Saints in this towne, was already this last Sommer so fraught ful of dead corps, that it was a hard matter to finde a place to digge a new grave; and yet since that time how many have beene buried, there are a many witnesses. And so good Church-men would many be after their death, who in their life time cared but little for comming at the Church assemblies; that if they be of any ranke or means, they must needs lye in the chancell at the least: and then after a superstitious conceit, many it may be, thinke they shall be the welcomer to heaven. But they will finde, I warrant them, that they reckoned without their host."

It was probably in order to check this evil that on January 4th, 1643-4 the Vestry passed the following resolution:—

It is ordered that such inhabitants as shall hereafter depart this present life in this parish and their friends shall desire their corps to be buried, they shall pay such rates as hereafter foloweth, for those that shalbe buried in the church or chauncel double the rate that was paide before, and for those that shalbe buried in the churchyard twentie pence and for straungers that shalbe buried in the church or chauncel, double the rate they paid before and [those] that shalbe buried in the churchyard iij^s. iiij^d. a corps and the old accustomed fees for the knoling of the bell to the sexton and clerk not to be altered. And for such as shall not be willing to pay their rate, their corps shalbe buried in St. Katharin's churchyard, where shalbe noe suche charge then for opening the ground and knoling the bell.

It is ordered that all persons that shalbe buried in this parish or St. Katharin's shall pay sixe pence to the curate and straungers xii^d. which several rates shalbe sent beforehand to the clerk to be given to the curate or els if the curate be absent to doe his office at anie buriall it shalbe no default in him.

Four years later, April 3rd, 1648, it was ordered

That the old grave stones and the new latelie sett up in the churchyard being to annoyance, shalbe fourthwith taken downe, and the upper flatt stones of them to be laide over the graves.

In 1650 the Vestry came to the following extraordinary resolution:—

April 15th, 1650. It is agreed that Edward Cocker shall have a piece of ground in the churchyard . . . tenn yards in length and in bredth within a foot of the chauncel to build upon to ad to his shop for xci. years upon the rent of iij^s. iiij^d.

In March, 1657, it was ordered that

If any poore prisoner dye in the Gaole, that he shall be buried in the churchyard of All Sts, payinge to the sexton for tolling the litle bell and makeinge the grave twelve pence.

On March 15th, 1757, in order to increase the burying accommodation of the parish, the Vestry ordered

That the ground commonly call'd St. Mary's churchyard be taken by the Parishioners of the Revd. Mr. Frost, Vicar, for a Burying ground.

In 1786 a determined attempt was made to carry into effect the resolution of the Vestry passed in 1648, but which had long since fallen into abeyance. A Vestry meeting was accordingly held on May 22nd and it was

Ordered that the proprietors of the Tombstones in the Front churchyard be applied to by the churchwarden, to desire leave to take them down at the parish expence.

The above order was complied with ; some consented and some did not.

On September 13th, 1787, it was ordered by the Vestry

That the churchwarden do take down and lay flat all the tomb and gravestones in the front churchyard and level the ground, and that in future no new ones be erected.

Ed. Cox. Ch. Warden.

The above order was complied with, and all grave-stones which stood upright and all tombstones, where the owners had consented, were taken down, and the large flat stones on the top of the tombstones were laid upon the grave, even with the surface of the ground, and the proper inscriptions cut on each stone. As, however, some few of the parishioners had not consented to the above order, it was agreed that their gravestones or tombs were to remain untouched, but that when any of these were taken down by the relatives to bury their dead, they should not be erected again, but laid flat with the ground. Upon the death of Mrs. Mary Hill, her executors took down one of these tombs which had remained untouched, and buried her thereunder, on the 8th of March, 1795. The Vestry met on March 16th, 1795, and then ordered

That a tombstone of the late Mrs. Mary Hill's which has lately been taken down, shall not be rebuilt, but that the stone be laid flat with the

ground, and that in future any other that is taken down shall not be rebuilt, but also laid flat.

John Hall, Ch. Warden.

In conformity with the above order, the vicar sent a notice to the executors, forbidding the rebuilding of the tomb. The grave was filled in with earth, and in this state remained for five or six weeks, when the churchwarden ordered the large, flat stone to be laid on the surface, like the other graves. On May 15th, the executors set masons to work to take up the stone and rebuild the tomb, but the churchwarden prohibited them. On May 16th, the executors ordered the mason (Mellowes) to proceed with the work and he, having from them a writing to indemnify him, finished it the same day. The next day (Sunday) the churchwarden (Mr. Birdsall) called a Vestry to meet on or before 12 o'clock on Monday. What occurred at this meeting is not recorded, but eventually it was decided to apply to the bishop's court for a faculty to level all the gravestones in the front churchyard. The petitioners for this faculty recite that

Several tombstones are broken down, moultering into dust and disgusting in the extreme, in the midst of the town where four streets meet. . . . If these stones were taken down and the ground levelled, there would be no stones breast high for the butcher lads to whet their cleavers against —no skulking places for loiterers in the ch. yd. in service time on Sundays to lurk behind. In short, cleanliness, decency, and good order in the Center of this town where so many improvements have lately been made, require that these obstructions should be removed. We therefore Pray that the Petition for the Faculty which we have sued for may be granted.

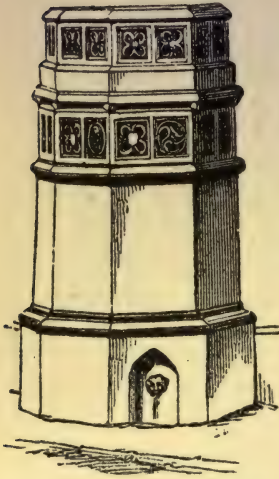
In 1817, as the difficulty of finding burial accommodation for the parishioners still continued, it was recommended to the vicar "to remove and take away the Trees in the churchyard, in order to make more room for sepulture of the dead."

Forty years later it was deemed necessary in the interest of the public health to prohibit any further interments in the churchyard of All Saints (except in certain specified cases) and an order to that effect was granted by the Queen in council in 1857.

In 1871, the Northampton Improvement Commissioners, with a view to the widening of the lower end of the Drapery, obtained an Act of Parliament authorizing them to cut off and secularize a portion of the west end

of the churchyard of All Saints, and the work was carried out in the autumn of the same year.

The Conduit.

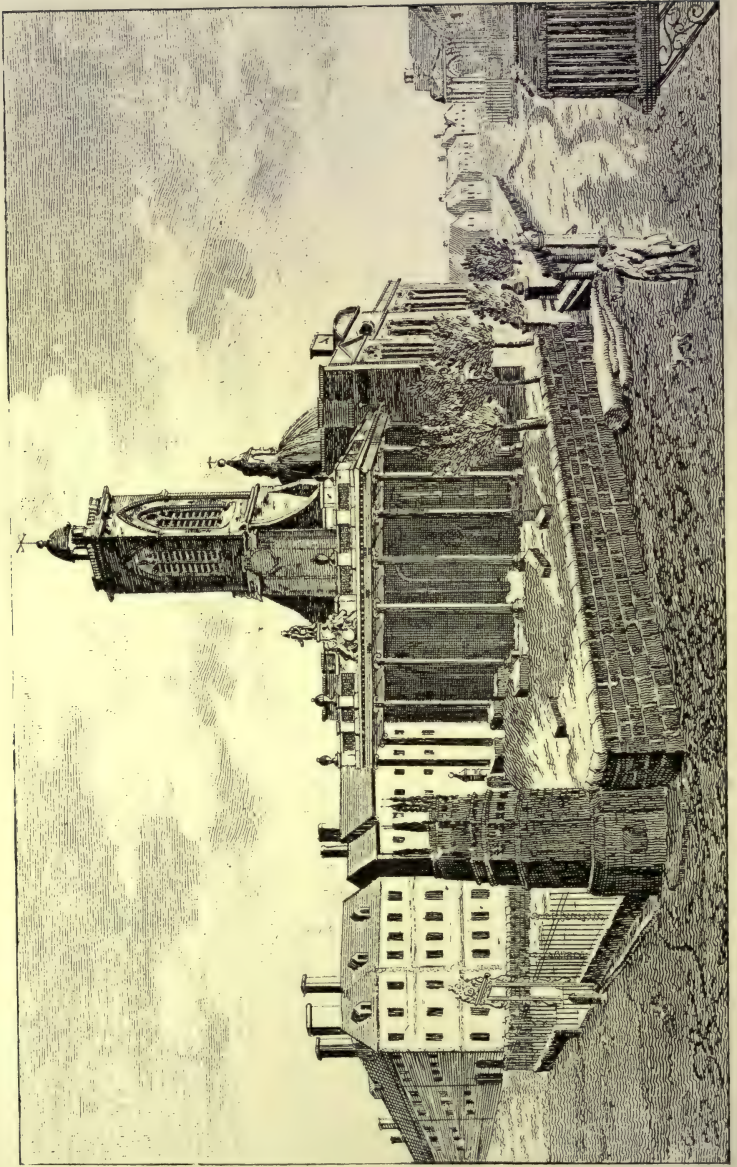


At the south-west angle of the churchyard of All Saints stood the "little conduit," so called to distinguish it from the great conduit in the Market Square. It is said to have dated back to the year 1300, when the town was extended and rebuilt. It was supplied with water by a spring known as the conduit head in a field to the east of the town, where the hospital of St. Andrew now stands. An old print of All Saints church (see opposite page) shows the conduit to have been ornamented with graceful pinnacles at the corners. These were so

seriously damaged by a storm in 1815 that it was found necessary to remove them, and in later prints (as in the one here reproduced) the conduit is always represented without pinnacles.

In 1830 the committee appointed to erect a wall and iron rails round the churchyard of All Saints applied to the Assembly for permission to take down the little conduit. Their request was granted in 1831 (a large tank having been built on Wood Hill) and the conduit was immediately demolished.*

* For full information on the subject of the conduit, see Northampton Borough Records, ii., 252-60.



THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS (18TH CENTURY) SHOWING THE OLD CONDUIT

Chapter-xviii



CHURCH OFFICERS AND SERVANTS.

Churchwardens.

THE office of churchwarden is a very ancient one, and may be traced back to the *seniores ecclesiastici* of the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, who were entrusted with the furniture, treasures, and outer affairs of the church, but had no concern with its government or discipline. Their duties were at once onerous and honourable, but they were strictly laymen, and as such, ranked below the deacons. Churchreeves or wardens was their usual English title, and the Latin equivalent, *custodes bonorum*, shows that their duty in the old days in the Church of England was to ward the goods of the particular church. Attempts have frequently been made to represent churchwardens as originally wholly or in part civil officials, but this is altogether an error. The office, though sufficiently onerous, and often involving trading on behalf of the parish with bequests in kind, was wholly free from all civil functions or even eleemosynary calls, until the end of the reign of Henry VIII., save in one single particular. In 1349 the Statute of Labourers required churchwardens to act with civil borough and county officials in aiding labourers to return to their homes, but this proviso became quite in-

operative. Towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., civil functions, such as providing arms for parish levies and relieving maimed soldiers, were imposed upon them, whilst the suppression of the monasteries caused the churchwardens in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth to be turned into general relieving officers.

Long before the Reformation, certainly as early as the thirteenth century, it became usual in many parishes for the wardens, as representing the "sworn men" of the parish, to present clergy as well as laity at the ecclesiastical courts or visitations, for moral offences or for laxity in performance of religious duties.

According to the canons of 1603, they are "to take care for the suppressing of sin and wickedness in their several parishes," and to take note of any parishioners who have a general evil character and "present" them to the bishop or his representative. In many parishes it was the custom for the churchwardens to leave the church during the reading of the second lesson and visit the neighbouring public houses. If any persons were caught tipping or in a state of intoxication in the streets, they were promptly put in the stocks, which were usually near the parish church.

The churchwardens were further expected "to see that all parishioners duly resort to their church upon all Sundays and Holy days and there continue the whole time of Divine Service; and none to walk or to stand idle or talking in the church, or in the church yard, or in the church porch during that time." They were also to take note of the communicants, and those who neglected to receive the blessed sacrament at Easter were to be presented to the bishop.

In the parish of All Saints it was the custom in the reign of Elizabeth, for the churchwardens to accompany the minister in a house-to-house visitation of the parish a fortnight before each of the quarterly communions, "to take the names of the communicantes and to examyne the state of their lyves, amongst whom yf any discorde be founde the parties are brought before the maior and his bretherne, being assisted with the preacher and other gentillmen before whom there is reconcyement made, or ells correction and puttinge the partie from the comunyon which will not dwell in charitie."

In 1585 the Assembly ordered the churchwardens of

All Saints to collect from all communicants of whatever rank or degree, a farthing, whenever they received the blessed sacrament, and to pay the same to Mr. Mayor twice a year, *viz.*, during the week after Easter and the week after Bartholomew-tide. "Such a collection of communicants' farthings," says Dr. Cox, "(altogether apart from voluntary alms) to be applied to civil uses, is surely unprecedented!"*

The churchwardens were also expected to provide for the poor of their respective parishes, which was effected mainly by a poor rate, as in the present day, but there were other sources of income. It is interesting to notice that the fines of those convicted for swearing were devoted by the magistrates to the relief of the poor in the parish where the offence took place. In the Northampton borough archives many such fines are recorded. On October 19th, 1699, Peter Barret, labourer, was convicted "for profane swearing 5 severall times, and for profane cursing 5 severall times: for which he forfeited and paid Ten shillings to ye use of ye poor of ye Parish of All Saints, which was distributed by ye Churchwardens according to ye Act of Parliament."

On July 5th, 1729, Briscoe Mortimer, of Hanslope, was fined £4 12s. (to the use of the poor of the parish of All Saints) "for swearing six and forty awful oaths by the sacred name of God" two days previously.

It seems to have been the almost invariable custom in every parish to spend a certain amount of public money in feasting on the day of the election of the churchwardens. To prevent this custom being carried to excess, the following resolution was adopted by the All Saints Vestry, April 1st, 1689:—

It is ordered that the Churchwardens shall not expend above Fourty shillings upon the Treat at their election on Easter Munday, nor above Thirty Shillings when they goe their perambulation.

The Parish Clerk.

The parish clerk was originally an officer performing certain duties connected with the service of the church and was not infrequently in minor orders. It was his duty to attend on the parish priest and assist in the

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 419.

services of the church; to prepare the altar and ring the bell for services; to precede the procession with holy water, and accompany the priest with bell and taper in going to visit the sick. He was also expected to act as "server" to the priest at the masses or celebrations, and was responsible for the due responses in all the services. One interesting custom of his office was to go round the parish on Sundays and holy days and sprinkle the people he met with holy water. It was from this custom that the clerk often went by the name of Aquæbajalus, or Holy Water Carrier.

The stipend of the parish clerk was made up of customary fees, especially at marriages and funerals, which then as now, varied in different parishes. It was further increased by voluntary donations and frequently by small legacies.*

Since the time of the Reformation, certain more secular duties have been attached to the office of clerk. Thus in certain injunctions issued by Henry VIII. it is ordered that "forasmuch as the Parish Clerk shall not hereafter go about the Parish with his holy water as has been accustomed, he shall instead of that labour accompany the church-wardens, and in a Book, register the name and sum of every man that giveth anything to the poor."

The references to the parish clerk of All Saints in the town records and in the parochial Vestry books are very meagre when compared with the frequent allusions which are made to the upper and lower sextons.

In 1557 the town Assembly agreed that John Flowers, parish clerk of All Saints should be made a free man, on condition "that he shall serve diligentlie in the churche and teache children and no longer."†

On October 30th, 1646, it was ordered by the parochial Vestry that the clerk for the time being should receive twenty nobles a year by quarterly payments, "he not to have the dutie of the parishioners he was wont to have." He was also to receive fifteen shillings a year for keeping the register.

Reference has already been made in a previous chapter (pp. 173-7) to the celebrated bills of mortality presented

* Cutts' *Parish Priests and their People*, pp. 298-305.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii., 357.

annually by the clerk of All Saints to the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton. The most famous are those (1787-1793) to which the poet Cowper* contributed the verses at the request of John Cox, and his successor, Samuel Wright. John Cox was appointed clerk in 1781 by William Hughes, vicar of All Saints. On the following Sunday, immediately before the Psalms, the vicar made the following announcement :—

"I do hereby appoint John Cox to be my parish clerk. John Cox is therefore clerk of the parish." †

Upon this the new clerk gave out the Psalm as follows :—

The place to which my lot has fallen
In beauty doth excel ;
Mine heritage assigned to me
Doth please me wondrous well.

The second Psalm commenced :—

I wash my hands and then prepare

The newly-appointed clerk was a barber and in those days barbers did not use a brush, but rubbed the lather on with their fingers.

The version of the Psalms then in use at All Saints was that of Sternhold and Hopkins published in 1562.‡

* Cowper wrote the verses from 1787-1793, with the exception of those for 1791.

† *Northampton Mercury*, January 6th, 1844, communicated by the late Mr. John Taylor to *Northampton Herald*, 1900.

‡ Thomas Sternhold was "groom of the robes" to Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Anxious to do away with the improper songs used about the court, he began to make a metrical version of the Psalter. He lived to complete the versification of fifty-one of the Psalms, thirty-seven of which were published in 1549, shortly after his death. Two years later followed another edition, with seven more Psalms from the pen of John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman. Additions were made by the English exiles at Geneva, and the complete version was published in 1562. The title is quaint :—"The whole Booke of Psalms collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins and others, conferred with the Ebrue with apt Notes to sing them withal. Set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches of all the people, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after sermons, and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads which tend only to the nourishing of vice and corrupting of youth."

In 1811 (January 30th) the vestry ordered

That a gratuity of twenty pounds be paid to Samuel Wright, the clerk of this parish, in consideration of his long and faithful services in that office, and that the same gratuity be continued yearly so long as he shall continue in the same office.

He had been appointed clerk in 1790 and had thus held the post for twenty-one years. He continued in office for seven years longer and was succeeded in 1818 by Charles Wright, who till then, had acted as sexton.

In the following year (December 15th, 1819) the Vestry decided that

The money given by the sheriff shall be equally divided between the clerk and the two sextons.

In 1838 (September 13th) the duties of the clerk were thus defined by the Vestry :—

CLERK.—That the clerk do attend on all occasions of Church services and at other times as required; that he keeps a registry of Baptisms and Burials, and makes a return of them every month to the Vicar and churchwardens, and copy the annual returns for the Registrar's office, and that he receive the sum of twenty pounds per annum as heretofore paid by the churchwardens, and such portion of the burial and other fees as are allotted to him.

The Sexton.

The name and office of sexton was not originally connected with the necessary preparations for the disposal of the dead. The word *sexton*, *segsten*, or *segorstane*, was a corruption of *sacrista* or *sacristan*, the keeper of the sacred vessels, books, and ornaments pertaining to the worship of the church, including the bells. He was also the keeper of the keys of the church. As sacristan, he had control of the sacred vessels and of the lights of the church, and hence he regulated the ceremonial at the burial of the faithful departed. By a comparatively modern use, entirely of Post-Reformation origin, the term sexton has come to mean in most parishes the man who digs the graves. In old days the sexton simply saw that the grave was duly prepared, and paid some small sum for the digging*

* *History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, by Revs. J. C. Cox and R. M. Serjeantson, p. 173.

The church of All Saints being an important centre, had two sextons, the "upper" and the "lower." The senior or upper sexton ranked among the minor servants of the Corporation of Northampton. He was appointed by the mayor and his brethren, and held office for life on good behaviour. It is not unnatural, therefore, to find that the Corporation deemed it right to provide him with a uniform. Accordingly, in 1592, the town Assembly agreed that William Nutt, sexton of All Saints, should have "a coate clothe, everie yeare hereafter," and thirty years later, (1625) an annual sum of 13s. 4d. was voted by the assembly to be paid to John Friend, sexton of All Saints, to provide him with a coat of blue cloth, which he was to have made up at his own expense. He was also ordered, in common with the bell-man and the town waits, to wear on his livery coat the cognizance or badge of the town. It was stipulated that if any sexton should refuse to make up or wear the coat and badge, he should forfeit the allowance. From that date down to 1836, this officer was always provided with an official costume at the expense of the town.*

Among the perquisites of the sexton was a share in the corn toll of the town. In 1637 the Corporation

Agreed and ordered that whereas John Friend, sexton of All Saints, is now sued in Law for taking of Schevidge due, being aunciently due to the towne Cryer and sexton, for corne brought to the Markett Hill, that the suite shalbe defended at the charge of the Corporation out of the Chamber.

On September 13th, 1666, Jeremiah Friend, sexton of All Saints, was accused before the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen of "speaking many uncivil words of the Mayor, of many misdemeanours, of a lewd life, and of keeping a disorderly house." The court, convinced of the truth of these charges, decided that he should be immediately dismissed from his office.† An unexpected difficulty, however, arose, for the Vestry of All Saints disputed the right of the Corporation to dismiss a sexton. The matter was referred to the ecclesiastical Courts, who upheld the claim of the Vestry or parish-

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 417-8.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii., 418.

ioners, notwithstanding the fact that the offending officer was clothed and to a great extent paid, by the Corporation. For twelve years longer the Vestry persisted in retaining the services of Jeremiah Friend, and when at length they dismissed him, they actually appointed in his stead, one who was at the time in prison!

At a Vestry held January 28th, 1678,

It was ordered y^t Jeremy Friend shold be and is devested and put out of his place as sexton of the church of All Saints. At the same vestrye John Symons was elected to the sexton's place for the parish-church of All Saints. Whei of it was ordered that if John Symons doth not procuer his Lybertye out of prison within six weeks tyme y^t then there should be another Vestrye cald to choose another sexton.

In 1685, the dispute between the Aldermen and the Vestry as to the right of appointing and dismissing the sexton was revived. The Lee MS. records (under that date) that "In this y^r was a dispute between the minister of All hallows and y^e aldermen about the electing of a new sexton. It was left to the Bishop who coming to this town, declared for the minister to have the right." Accordingly on February 22nd, 1685-6, the Vestry

Ordered by an unanimous vote that John Watts be sexton of this Parish of All Saints. And if any opposicon be made to this eleccon That it be Defended at a parish charge.

A few months later (July 19th, 1686) the Vestry agreed

That William Gore be placed as under sexton of this parish church of All Saints, the place he was formerly in possession of, And that the churchwardens pay him fferty shillings by the year; by reason the present head sexton doth not receive the Toll of the Corne hills and is not therefore able to pay the s^d Gore out of his proffitts as formerly."

In 1719 and for several subsequent years, the name of Robert Watts occurs as sexton both in the Vestry books and in the records of the Aldermen's Court.

In 1723 and for many years previously, the boys and others who made the portico of All Saints church their playground, had been a continual source of annoyance and expense to the parishioners. Accordingly we read that at a Vestry held February 25th, 1723-4, it was

Agreed that William Spence be chosen under sexton . . . and that the twenty shillings heretofore annually allowed to William Lane for keeping the portico clear of Boys playing therein, be added to the sexton's salary and five shillings more, which together make up the sum of Four

pounds as an encouragement to the said William Spence to keep the said porticoe clear from Boys playing there and also to keep the churchyards of the said church of All Saints in clean and decent order."

At the same meeting it was further agreed

That the present churchwardens provide the said Wm. Spence with a new coat.

In 1750 Peter Quenby, one of the "forty-eight," was removed from that body by reason of his poverty, which induced him to accept the post of sexton of All Saints in succession to William Spence, lately deceased. This transaction is recorded in the journal of the Mayor and Aldermen.

The chamberlain's accounts for 1764 shew that Richard Claridge, sexton of All Saints, was paid £1 6s. 8d. for attending the mayor to church. In the same accounts the names of the following sextons or under-sextons occur under their respective years, as receiving a like salary:—1768-9, Samuel Wright; 1769-74, John Wright; 1775, Samuel Wright; 1776, John Wright; 1777-81, John Cox; 1784, Samuel Wright; 1791, Charles Wright; 1821, John Wright.

In 1775, at a Vestry holden on May 31st, it was

Ordered that Samuel Wright, one of our sextons, be allowed the sum of Ten pounds annually exclusive of his present emoluments, and that he do attend upon the workmen when they are repairing the leads, and take proper care that the walls, windows and monuments be kept clean and that he from time to time Do clean the leads and take away the snow from the leads of the church and scower the sconces at least once in every month, and that he do superintend the other servants or officers who are employ'd about the church and see that they do their duty and that the church and seats be kept clean and decent. And that he be called the Head Sexton and commence his office and his increased salary of ten pounds from Lady Day last.

On January 30th, 1811, the Vestry

Ordered that Charles Wright, the sexton, be allowed a yearly salary of seven guineas for winding up the clock and setting the chimes.

At a Vestry holden December 15th, 1819, it was agreed

That the under sexton be authorized to receive the profits of showing the church on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday in every week and that the upper sexton have the same perquisites on the other four days in every week.

It was further agreed

That the under sexton take the remains of the Candles on the south side the church on Xmas day and other days. Also that the money given by the Sheriff at the assizes should be equally divided between the clerk and the two sextons.

The duties of the upper and lower sexton were in 1838 thus specifically defined at a meeting of the Vestry :—

UPPER SEXTON.—That he attends at all times when public service is performed at the church and at other times as required. That he open the pew doors on the north side of the church and afford every possible accomodation to strangers; that he dust half the Church, the Vestry Room and School Room twice a week, attend to the lighting of that half and keep the whole carefully clean. That he wash and thoroughly clean the church twice in every year, finding Brushes and all other Requisites at his own expense. That he attend to the church fires and keep the church duly warmed and aired. That he receive the annual payment of Ten pounds and also such portion of the Burial and other fees as are allotted to him so long as he shall satisfactorily perform his duties.

UNDER SEXTON.—That he attend at all times of public service and perform the same duties on the south side as the upper sexton on the north side of the church. That he toll the Bell for all Funerals, as well as daily at six o'clock in the morning from March 25th to September 29th, and at seven o'clock in the morning from September 29th to March 25th for one quarter of an hour excepting on Sundays, when the Sermon Bell shall be tolled at eight o'clock in the morning; that he dig all graves to the depth of eight feet, to fill in and turf over the same: to keep the churchyard walks free from weeds and grass; to sweep the same and the portico every Saturday evening, and remove all surplus soil caused by Burials. That he be required to provide Spades, Brushes, and other Requisites at his own expence, and that he receive the sum of Ten pounds per annum from the churchwardens and such portions of the Burial fees as are allotted to him, so long as he shall satisfactorily perform his duties. The sextons are expected to provide a pew-opener for the north and south galleries to attend at the evening service on Sundays.

The Beadle.

In 1782 the parishioners of All Saints determined to appoint a fourth officer, in addition to the clerk and two sextons. Accordingly, at a Vestry meeting held on June 17th of that year, it was ordered that

A Beadle be appointed by the Parish, to turn out the Vagrants under the Directions of the Churchwardens and that Richard Collis be appointed to the above office with a salary of two pounds, two shillings per annum. Also that the churchwarden provide him with a coat.

It was further ordered that

The salary of 20s. allowed to James Teeton [under sexton] for cleansing the Portico and the churchyard of every nuisance, be now allowed to Richd. Collis.

Twelve months later, however, Richard Collis was dismissed and the new office abolished.

An officer with somewhat similar powers had been maintained at All Saints in the days of the Commonwealth. In 1657 the Vestry agreed that

Old Thomas Beven to keepe good order and over rule the boyes and people in the church from disorder, he to have six pence weekly allowed him for his paines, to be taken on every sabbath daie.



Chapter 19

THE VESTRY BOOKS.

THE earliest of the Vestry books now remaining begins with the year 1620. On the title page are the following words:—

In this Booke you shall see the costomes of the parrish.

The next page states the objects for which the book was to be used, followed by an interesting summary of the customs of the church.

This Booke was provided for the parishe church of All Saintes in the Towne of Northampton aforesaide the Tenth day of December, in the yeare of our Lord God 1620 and in the Eighteenth Yeare of the Raighn of our soveraign Lord King James; and of Scotland the foure and fiftith; Mr. Henry Chadwicke then being maior of the saide towne Mr. Jeremiah Lewis then being vicar of the saide parishe, John Danby and John Harbert being then churchwardens of the saide parishe, for the recording of all such auncient customes and dueties as have bene heretofore used and taken wth in the saide parishe, and also for the recording of the names of the Churchwardens and Sidesmen yeerely to be chosen for the saide parishe and of all suche sumes of money as shall hereafter be agreed upon at any vestry for the repaire of the church aforesaide, or any other busines concerning the same Church, and of all suche plate carpetts cushions candlestickes, surplesses and other ymplementes bookes and other moveables as are belonging to the same Church, to the end that it may appeare in whose tyme any of the same thinges are or shalbe lost that due satisfacton may be made to the parishe for the same.

1. First it is the auncient custome of this parishe that the Church wardens doe appoynt seates in the Church for every newe marryed Couple and have for the placing of their wives xij^d which they doe employe about the repaire of the Church. } xij^d.

2. Item if the same parties growe to better estates or come to beare any office in the said towne, they are to be removed higher to other seates according to the discretion of the Churchwardens of the same parishe without any further payments.

3. Item it is the auncient custome of this parish to take for every parishoner that shall dye in this parishe that hath the great Bell tolled for him } xij^d.

And more to the Sexton
And to the Clarke

xij^d.
vj^d.

And for everyone of another parishe that hath the great Bell of this parish tolled for him	}	ijs.
And more to the Sexton And to the Clarke		xijd.
4. Item if any of the said parishe be buryed in the said church they pay for breaking up of the ground towards the re- pair of the same church	}	iijs. iiijd.
And they are to bring into the same Church within one moneth next after the buryall a sufficient gravestone to cover the same grave, or els to pay unto the parishe for the repaire of the same church.		iijs. iiijd.
5. Item if any of the saide parishe be buryed in the Chauncell they pay for breaking up of the ground towards the repaire of the said church.	}	vjs. viijd.
6. Item for every parishoner that is buryed in the chauncell within one moneth after his buryall there is to be brought a sufficient gravestone to cover the said grave or els to be payd [7 and 8 provide double payments for non-parishioners.]		iijs. iiijd.
9. Item it is an auncient custome that everyone that hath bene maior of this towne payeth at Easter towards the repaire of this Church when he payeth his Easter dues if he be a parish- oner. And every one of the same parishe that is not a freeman if he be reputed of so good estate as the maior, to pay likewise at Easter.	}	xijd.
10. Item, everyone that hath bene Bayliffe payeth in like manner at Easter.		viijd.
And everyone that is not a freeman that is of as good estate as the bayliffs	}	viijd.
11. Item all other housekeepers within the same parishe pay likewise at Easter towards the repaire of the same church		iiijd.
12. If any of the other parishes be buryed in this church- yarde they are to pay for the breaking up of the ground there towards the repaire of the church.	}	xijd.

A considerable amount of information as to the history of the church—the sums spent in repairing the fabric, in re-hanging and re-casting the bells, in repairing and improving the organ, etc.—has been drawn from the Vestry books and has already been given in previous chapters.

A few other subjects, which do not come under any of the above headings, will now be touched upon.

The Inventories.

In 1621 the Inventory of the church goods of All Saints' parish was as follows:—

Imprimis twoe silver boles, twoe flaggons of pewter, twoe dishes, and twoe plates for bread, one brasse Candlestick.

It: a carpet of Woolen, and a Lynnen Clothe for the Communion table, twoe velvet Cushines, and twoe surplisees. Item one great bible, twoe

books of Comon prayer, one book of Jewell and Harding, and another of Erasmus paraphrase, one book of Canons, and twoe bookes of thanksgiving one for the fifth of August and another for the fifth of November, and a book called the remonstrance of King James. And a Register book of Baptisings Mariages and burials.

“With regard to this Inventory,” says Dr. Cox,* “it may be mentioned that the ‘carpet of woollen’ would mean the altar cloth or cover; it is a later use of the word carpet that assigns it exclusively to a floor-cloth. As to the books, the injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547 ordered that each parish was to provide within a year a copy of the Paraphrase of Erasmus,† ‘to be sette up in some convenient place within the Churche’; this injunction was repeated by Elizabeth in 1559, until there was probably no church without one. About one hundred copies still remain in our churches, most of them with chains, or marks of the chains for fastening them to the desk, still remaining. The celebrated ‘Apology’ of Bishop Jewell was also ordered to be placed in every parish church in the year 1569. ‘The Remonstrance of King James’ is evidently another title for the tract written by the king in 1607 called ‘An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance,’ which was a cumbersome theological justification of the extreme severity of his actions towards the Romanists. The thanksgiving service for August 5th was the one relative to the ‘Gowrie House Conspiracy’ of August, 1600, when it was alleged that the king was saved from assassination.”

In 1625 the Inventory includes “a grene broad-clothe carpet with grene silk fringes for the Comunion Table and one Lynnen Clothe for the same table.”

In 1627 there were the following additional items:— “three wholl ladders, two broken ladders, one sledge hamer, and twoe gable or pullie Ropes of sixscore two pounds weights, and one grene velvet cushin.”

In 1635 the parish goods comprised in addition to the above, “four firre poles, one and twentie formes, and twoe Tomes of Homilies”; and in 1636 two fire hooks are included in the list.

* Northampton Borough Records, ii., 415.

† A copy of the Paraphrase of Erasmus was purchased for the parish of All Saints in 1547 (see page 189).

Church Chest.

For the better preservation of the parish books and documents, the vestry on November 24th, 1718, made the following order:—

That the present churchwardens provide three new Locks and Keys of a different sort and cause such new locks to be fixt to a certain chest which is within the Vestm^t house in this church. In which chest it is hereby ordered and agreed that the deeds and writings belonging to or concerning this Parish shall be deposited and kept for the better security thereof.

Religious Teaching of the Young.

It is interesting to find that the Vestry occasionally took thought for the religious instruction of the young.

At a vestry holden November 2nd, 1659, before Thomas Collins, Mayor, William Selby and Joseph Sargent, Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace of the said Town, John Friend and Richard Massingberd, churchwardens, and others, the inhabitants of the Parish of All Saints, it is agreed and ordered that all persons within this parish under the age of 15 years shall give their attendance in the public congregation to be catechized in such manner and by such Division, and at such times as Mr. Ford shall direct and appoint.

Briefs.

Briefs were letters patent issued by the Crown directing the collection of alms in churches for the special objects named therein. They were granted for various benevolent purposes, such as compensation for loss by fire or flood, and in later years especially for the repair and rebuilding of churches. A brief was issued shortly after the great fire of Northampton and was sent to every parish in England, appealing for assistance for the sufferers, and by this means a large sum was raised.

It is usual to find numerous entries in Vestry books and parish registers with regard to the sums collected from time to time in response to briefs.

Only one appears to be recorded in the books of All Saints.

1661. Md. £1 5s. 4d. was collected by a Briefe wth in the said parish of All St^s towards the re-edifying of the parish [church?] of Condoover in the county of Salop and received by one Thomas Reynalls for the said use.

Quarrel with the Mayor.

In 1663 the mayor, in consideration perhaps of the close connection existing between the Corporation and the church of All Saints, claimed the right of being an *ex-officio* member of the parochial Vestry of All Saints. The Vestry unanimously refused to admit him and ordered the following note to be entered in the Vestry book :—

Mem. upon the apearance of Mr. John Brafeild now Mayor of Northampton chalinging a right to be present at this Vestry as Mayor, the parrish by a generall vote *nemine contradicente* voted that he being of another parrish had noe right to be present at the Vestries of this parrish.

April 20
1663.

Perambulations.

From a very early period of church history the three days preceding Ascension day were set apart as a fitting time for beseeching God's blessing upon the growing crops. Processions chanting litanies, which "perambulated" the boundaries of the parish were the chief features of the ceremonial. Two principal objects were kept in view—prayer to God for the growing produce of the earth and the due preservation of the parish boundaries. Unfortunately, in later times the religious element to a great extent dropped out, and the ceremony degenerated into a mere "beating of the bounds"*

There are several references to this custom in the Vestry books of All Saints. In the middle of the eighteenth century the parishioners appear to have considered that the churchwardens were too lavish in their expenditure on Perambulation day, for on February 20th, 1745-6, they adopted the following resolution :—

Agreed that no churchwardens ever for the future expend at the Pre-ambling Dinner more than Five Pounds, if so to be their own charge.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century we get an

* It is interesting to note that in many parts of the country at the present day the attempts to revive the religious ceremony have proved highly successful.

exceedingly interesting account of the order of procedure at a Perambulation. It is entered in the Vestry book, and gives us a very precise account of the parish boundaries.

Order of Perambulation on Holy Thursday, May 28th, 1829, Messrs. P. Phipps and Thos. Sharp, Churchwardens.

From the Church to Flying Horse Inn yard to upper stable; to the yard of Mr. M. Smith's House, end of the Kitchen wall; to the end of Messrs. Miller and Marshall's house in Abington Street; to the wall dividing the Town hall and Saracen's head Inn, Abington Street; to Dychurch Lane, in at the stable door of Messrs. Greville's, down the yard to the end of the back wall of the Saracen's head stable; to the Blk Boy back gate, down the yard to about the centre of stable wall; to the upper end wall of the house of Mr. Thos. Garratt St. Gyles' Square; across the Square, thro' the house of Mr. W. Gates, out at Back door close to which is the Cross in Goal lane.

Down Cow lane into Cow Meadow, keeping to the left cross by the side of Mr. Taylor's, old Freeman's and old Osborn's walls into the New Walk, straight down to Vigo; cross over the cistern; from thence down the Meadow, close by the Brook; over the lease* to Bridge Wall; into the Meadow keeping close to the River; over the Wooden Bridge into Calves holme; across to the low shot house; take boat, proceed along River, thro' the southernmost arch of South Bridge; along the Brook by the Osier Bed to Cotton Mill, taking in Foot Meadow; from the Bush opposite the 11 foot washing place, south of Mr. Allen's garden, to the Cotton Mill yard; thro' the back premises to Northern Bank of River at Mill Head, taking nearly the whole of Miss Adkins and Perry's Garden; across the hedge to corner of the New Tenement in the occupation of William Lawson, shoemaker, taking in his house and all the tenements on the North and N. East of his to Mill Lane; to nearly the south east end of the Wall of close in occupation of Mr. Willson, Horsedealer; to the uppermost corner of Narrow toe lane on the right hand side.

Along to Free School Lane to corner of House in occupation of Mr. Yeates, attorney at Law in Mare Fair.

Westward along Mare Fair to corner of Quart Pot Lane; along the same to the end of stone wall of Castle hill Meeting Burying ground; thro' the burying ground to the end of stone wall in Chalk Lane, taking in the school and part of yard.

Proceeding from Chalk Lane west of Castle Hill, along the narrow lane leading to the cold bath, to the corner of Lane in Bath Street, taking in the whole of South Side of Bath Street; from the corner of Narrow Lane to corner of house in the occupation of Mr. Wright, wheelwright, standing in the Mayorhold and Horse Market; along Silver street taking in the west side; round the Fountain corner along Bradshaw street, taking in the south side to the wall dividing the house of Mr. Jones, Gentleman, and the Plumbers Arms Public house in Sheep street; down Sheep street, up Mr. Ponts the coachmakers yard to the wood shed on east side of yard; to Mr. Jeyes's The Town clerks office, or the wall dividing his office and Mr. Butchers stable in Newland; across to the wall dividing Mr. Terry's close and Miss Sandford's house; down Newland to the Peacock yard, to the dunghill and uppermost stable.

As showing with more detail the way in which these

* Lease, a pasture or Common.—(Halliwell).

perambulations were conducted, the following may be quoted. It is an account of what takes place at the present day in one of the outlying districts of London :—

“ We assembled by invitation at the Vestry Hall about 10 o'clock a.m. I should think there were thirty or forty gentlemen present, including the rector and churchwardens, and various officers of the parish, and about the same number of schoolboys. The gentlemen wore rosettes and carried rods, and the boys were provided with long willow wands decked with blue ribbons. The parish beadle, carrying the mace, marched in front. When we came to any of the boundary stones of the parish, they were duly examined to see if they were in their proper position, and then the boys gave three cheers and beat them with their wands. We marched through private houses and warehouses, over walls, ditches, canals, etc., and were taken down the river in a barge, until at last we came to our starting point again about 4.30 in the afternoon. The churchwardens then presented each of the boys with a new shilling and dismissed them.”*

Churchwardens' Accounts.

No detailed churchwardens' accounts for the parish of All Saints now remain, at least as regards early days. The total sums received and expended by the church officers each year, are entered in the Vestry books; but the books or papers containing the details of expenditure, which often throw so much light on the manners and customs of our forefathers, are entirely wanting at All Saints.

* Andrews' *Curious Church Customs*, p. 189.

Chapter. XXII



THE REGISTERS.

THE earliest register book of All Saints contains the record of the baptisms from 1560 to 1722; of the marriages from 1559 to 1721; and of the burials from 1559 to 1722. It opens as follows:—

A register Booke contayning the names and surnames of all those that were baptised, buiried, and maried within the parish church and parish of All Saints in the towne of Northampton, sithence the first yeare of the Raigne of our souvraigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland quene, defendre of the faithe, etc., which was in the yeare of our Lorde god one thowsand fyve hundreth fiftie and eight untill this present yeare of our Lorde A thowsand fyve hundreth ninetie and nyne, made according to the tenor and effecte of certaine constitucons Ecclesiasticall by the Archbishop, Bishops, and the rest of the clergie of the province of Canterburie in a Sinod begon at London the fyve and twentieth daye of the moneth of October in the year of our Lord god 1597, and the raigne of the souvraigne princes in christ Ladie Elizabeth the quene's Matie aforesaide the nine and thirtieth, there gathered together, drawne and afterwarde by our saide souvraigne ladie the quene's Matie approved and confirmed, and to both the provinces as well of Canterburie as Yorke that they may be more diligentlie observed by the same her Royall autorite under the great Sealle of England made manifest; William Bodington and Henry Chadwicke then being churchwardens of this parish.

The keeping of a parish register book was first suggested by Vicar-General Cromwell at the time of the suppression of the lesser monasteries in 1536, but it was not ordered until two years later. The injunction, which is dated September 29th, 1538 enjoins that:—
“The curate of every parish church shall keep one book or register; which book he shall every Sunday take

forth, and in the presence of the churchwardens or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings and burials made the whole week before; and for every time that the same shall be omitted, he shall forfeit to the said church 3s. 4d."

Several confirmatory injunctions were issued during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, but the order remained practically unchanged till 1597. On October 25th of that year, a new regulation with regard to parish registers was made by the clergy of the province of Canterbury, which was approved under the Great Seal of England. Every parish was ordered to provide itself with a parchment book, and where the register had been previously kept on paper, it was to be legibly transcribed into the parchment book, each page being authenticated by the signature of the vicar and churchwardens.

Numerous extracts from the parish registers of All Saints have already been given in previous chapters, especially those dealing with the plague and the civil war. A few others of a more general nature seem worth transcribing.

The earlier entries in the All Saints registers are in Latin, though, as the following extracts will show, the Latin was not always strictly classical :—

1574. May 28th—"Mary Grene soror per legem Georgio Andrewe ancilla sepulta fuit."
 1577. April 22—John Smith " filius lege Magistro Yong sepult fuit."
 1584. June 18—Nathaniell Meanard " filius in lege Magistri Wilson " was buried at St. Giles.
 1597-8. March 1st—"Vetus Mater Browne sepulta fuit."

Frequently the entries contain a strange mixture of Latin and English, as in the following cases :—

- Aug. 1675—Jane Stannard de violent death sepult fuit quarto die.
 Oct. 1675—Margrit Freind ux. Jeramiah Freind, sexton kild with a wall falling et sepult fuit 7th die.

In the register of baptisms, under the year 1653 the following entry occurs :—

Abraham Barton is allowed and sworne Register within the parish of All Saints in the towne of Northampton, the eight and twentieth day of September, 1653 by Mr. Laurence Wollaston, Maior of the towne of Northampton, according to the tenor of the Act of Parliam^t and allsoe

of Peter's parish having power by the Act where the parish is small, to joyne two into one.

LAW: WOLLASTON, Maior.

The system of Parochial registration having fallen more or less into abeyance owing to the frequent change of ministers during the civil war* and under the Commonwealth, an Act was passed in August, 1653, on marriage and registration. "By this legislation the clergy were obliged to give up their register books to laymen who were to be called the 'parish register.' The new officials were to be chosen by the householders on or before September 22nd, 1653, and after being sworn and approved by the local magistrate the appointments were to be entered in the register books. The parish register had to keep a record of all publications of banns, marriages, births, and burials, and was paid 12d. for every certificate of banns and entry of marriage and 4d. for every entry of birth and burial." The official appointed by the people of All Saints was the parish clerk. He had a lengthy tenure of office as is shown by the following attestations of the burial registers. That of 1676 is witnessed by "Doctor Conant, Minister, Mr. Thomas Whithorne and Mr. James Greene, Churchwardens, and Abraham Barton, Clarke, but as yet frequenting St. Peter's till All Saints be Rebuilt, which God grant."

That of 1684 is attested by Doctor Conant, the churchwardens, and "Abraham Barton as yet Parish clerk this forty and two yeares."

The Act already mentioned relating to marriages and registration enjoined that no marriages were in future to be considered valid unless the knot had been tied by a civil magistrate. Accordingly we find the following entry in the All Saints marriage register :—

The Acte tooke date Septemb: the 29th (1653).

Francis White of Pisford and Hannah Smith of Little Houghton ware both married the 24th day of November, by Mr. Henry Sprige, Mayor. 1653."

* The vicar of Kibworth, Leicestershire, made the following entry in his register :—"Know all men that the reason why little or nothing is registered from the year 1641 until the year 1649 was the Civil Wars between King Charles and his Parliament, which put all into a confusion till then and neither minister nor people could quietly stay at home for one party or the other."

Occasionally the name of the minister who performed the religious part of the ceremony is given in addition, as in the following case :—

Mr. Thomas Peach of Cotton End and Mrs. Elizabeth Ecton widdow in this parish ware the next day [October 29th, 1655] married by Mr. Justice Collis [the mayor] and Mr. Richard Trueman minister [of St. Sepulchre's].

The same act allowed the publication of banns either in the "public meeting place commonly called the church or chapel," or in the Market Place on market day. The following are instances of the latter :—

Feb. 1656-7—Justinian Brastgerdle of Creaton, Gent. and M^{rs} Martha Furnis of Sibbertart [Sibbertoft] have been 3 severall Market dayes in 3 severall weeakes published and ended 14 day.

May 1659—Henry Buckerfeilde of Sulgrave, Gent. and Elizabeth West of Cricke was at our Market place ther published 23 day.

That the publication of banns of marriage in church was not discontinued at this time is shewn by the following extract :—

Oct. 29, 1655—George Britten and Alice Butler both of this parish ware published the next Lords Day at the parrish church of All Saints in contract of marriage.

In 1681 occurs the following entry :—

April—A cupple I not present, nupti fuerunt 17 die.

Burial of Prisoners.

Northampton possessed several places for the imprisonment of criminals and debtors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the castle, the Bridewell* or house of correction, and the two gaols for debtors and criminals under the town hall. There are various entries in the All Saints registers relating to each of these places of confinement. The following are instances :—

1574-5—Feb. 20th, Richardus Paykman "captivus in castra" was buried.

In 1579 the burial of Nicholas Foster, a prisoner "*in carcere opidano*" is recorded.

In 1593-4 an epidemic of gaol fever appears to have

* The lower portion of St. George's Hall was at this time used as a Bridewell.

been raging in the Bridewell. Among others, John Grene "*captivus de Brydewell*" was buried January 18th, and "Richard Davys (recusant) in Bridewell" on March 20th. At the beginning of the next century the following interments are recorded :—

1605-6 March 22nd—"mulier ex le carcere."

1610 April—George Moore sepult ex gaolâ fuit iiii^o die.

Fifty years later

1660 May 28th,—A gentlewoman of the goale was then buried.

The Lazar or Spittleman.

On the suppression of the Leper Hospital of St. Leonard (Far Cotton) in 1549, the lands and buildings were purchased from the Crown by Francis Samwell of Northampton. In the following year the Mayor and Corporation brought an action in the Court of Chancery against Mr. Samwell (see p. 60), and succeeded in recovering a portion of the property. Upon this they built a small cottage called the "Spittle" or "Lazar House" for the use of a single poor man, who was to occupy it rent free and to receive in addition a weekly allowance of two shillings, together with a suit of clothes and a load of firewood once a year. The nomination of this Corporation alms-man rested with the Mayor and Aldermen.† In the burial registers of All Saints there are many references to the spittle or Lazarman, of which the following are examples :—

1589-90 January 11th,—Johnes Bryan le spittleman Sci Leonard's buried.

1628-9 Feb. 27,—William Webb, Laserman was buried.

1683 Dec. 1st,—James Rogers from spittlehouse, Cotton end, buried.

In one instance the house appears to have been occupied by a woman, for the registers of All Saints record the burial (November 4th, 1623) of "Dorothea Web de le spittle howse." It is probable that she was the wife of William Webb above mentioned, and that the rule as to the occupant being a single man was in his case relaxed.

† Northampton Borough Records, ii. 332.

Chrisom Children.

The record of the burial of chrisom children so often found in some registers, is rare in those of All Saints. There are, however, one or two examples, such as the following:—

1636 April.—A chrisom child John Walker sepult fuit v^o die.

The chrisom was a white vesture or cloth, which was wrapped round the child at its baptism and retained as part of its clothing till the mother came to be churched. Children dying within a month of their baptism or before their mother's churching, were termed chrisom children, the chrisom being used as their shroud.*

All Saints and the Washingtons.

Northampton, and especially All Saints church, is of peculiar interest to Americans in connection with the early settlers in Virginia and New England. The descent of the Virginia Washingtons from Laurence Washington, mayor of Northampton in 1532 and 1545, is now a well established fact, but it is hardly known at all that the mother of President Washington, Mary Ball, was the descendant of a family most prominent in the life of All Saints church in Elizabethan and early Stuart days. The incumbent of All Saints in the early part of the seventeenth century was Thomas Ball, and several Ball families were prominent parishioners. From one of these the mother of George Washington was descended. There are many entries in the registers of All Saints relating to the family of a certain Daniel Washington in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., but his exact relationship to the head of the family has never been quite clear.

As to New England pioneers, Thomas Dudley, deputy to John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts, and afterwards his successor in that office, was once a parishioner of All Saints, his wife being the daughter of Edmund Yorke of Northampton. He was the son of Captain Roger Dudley (who served under King Henry

* *History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 191-2.

of Navarre, and was killed at the battle of Ivry) and is supposed to have been born in or near Northampton.

Besides the Washingtons and Dudleys, the names of many less known families of early Virginia and New England, appear in the registers of All Saints, as might be expected from the fact that one of the early counties of Virginia was named Northampton, and that one of the early towns of Massachusetts (now a flourishing city on the Connecticut River) received a like designation.

The causes which led these men to seek a new home across the Atlantic were similar, yet dissimilar. The New Englanders left the old country to escape from the repressive measures of Laud—the Washingtons (whose father was ejected from his living under the Commonwealth) to escape from the intolerance of the Puritans.*

Burials in Woollen.

In order to encourage the woollen manufacturers, laws were passed in 1666 and 1678 to enforce burials in woollen. The Act passed in the latter year ordered that “Noe corpse of any person or persons shall be buried in any shirt, shift, sheete, or shroude, or anything whatsoever made or mingled with Flax, Hempte, Silke, Haire, Gold or Silver, or any other stuffe or thing, other than what is made of Sheep’s Wooll onely, or be put in any coffin lined or faced with any sort of cloath or stuffe or any thing whatsoever that is made of any materiall but Sheep’s Wool onely, uppon paine of the forfeiture of five pounds of lawfull money of England.” It was further enjoined that an affidavit was to be made by those responsible for the funeral of any person, that the Act had been observed, and the clergy were ordered to keep a record of these affidavits. Accordingly in September, 1678, we find the following entry in the burial register of All Saints:—

Mr. Robert Macey, Attorney sepultus fuit 9th die in woollen only according to a late act entituled an act for burying in woollen, attested by an affidavit under ye hands and seals of Ann Slater and Mary Maryott and likewise under ye hand of ye right worshipfull ye Mayor for ye tyme being.

* Kindly contributed by Mr. Lothrop Withington, the well-known American genealogist.

In many parishes a separate book was kept for recording the names of those buried in woollen, and this appears to have been the case at All Saints after 1678.

Hospital of St. John.

During the rebuilding of All Saints church after the fire, the marriages of the parishioners were sometimes celebrated in the chapel of St. John's Hospital, as is shewn by the following extract :—

1675-6 January,—John Barrett and Sarah Brookes were married xxvijth day by Doctor Conant at St Jones chappell, ours being desolate.

The registers of All Saints also occasionally record burials in the chapel. The following are instances :—

1682. May 7th—Doctor Wake buried in his owne chappell at St. John Auspittall.

1704—Mr. John Skelton archdeacon of Bedford and Master of St. John's Hospital in Northton was buried Ap. 5th in ye chapel there.

George Wake, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough, was master of St. John's Hospital, from 1638 to 1682; and John Skelton from 1682 to 1704.

The following extracts from the later burials are noteworthy :—

June 1660—Two young men drowned the next day [8th] and buried the ninth day.

Aprill 1667—Mr. John Bott, Bachelor of Arts de Oxford sepult fuit xxj die.

July 1668—John Morley untimely died et sepult fuit 20 et 21 die.

Feb. 1668-9—Paul Watts a very aged a Heardsman sepult fuit octo die.

Oct. 20th, 1671—John Pell, almesman in St. Thomas Hospetall [buried].

January 17th, 1674-5—Alice . . . a vile wench excommunicated [buried].

July 1679—Mr. Richard Hooke Minester an unconformis sepultus fuit 1 die.

July 1680—Benone Bradshaw Baker and Quaker put in ground 13th day.

Oct. 2nd, 1683—The Lady Mary Renolds* a good benefactor was buried.

May 1686—Sarah Posslett an ancient maid was buried the 9th or 10th day.

July 1687—Antony Hobson was buried the 31st and last day very much mortified and his bones broken little regarded. (*sic!*)

1692—A poor passenger was buried Dec. 31st.

1699—Edmund Ireland, Apothecary and chief Butler to his grace ye Duke of Ormond was buried May 15.

April 1706—Old John Bales Button-maker the 14th who lived part of ye Fifteenth century the whole Sixteenth and part of the Seventeenth century [*sic* /]. The most probable conjecture of his

* See p. 267.

age is that if he had lived to the August Following he would have been 114. For we Find in this Register a John Bales Bapt. August ye 20th, 1592. (See pp. 295-6.)

Unusual Names.

The registers of All Saints furnish many instances of unusual names. For instance, two daughters of Thomas Hunt were named respectively Saboot (1573) and Syracke (1574) while a son was baptized under the name of Hughshias. The unusual name Annis occurs no less than twelve times in the baptismal registers for 1574-6. Deliverance occurs once or twice as the Christian name of a girl (June 8th, 1589), and Temperance as that of a boy (February 1594). In addition to Faith, Prudence, and Patience, we find the names Comfort (1592-3) and Sighe (1630). William Ludwell in 1601 gave the name Be Faithful, to one of his sons. The child died in 1602, and a few months later a second son was baptized under the same uncommon name. Other curious names are Shefony, Pedagree, Lo-ammi, and Sophene (boys); and Dyva, Bythy, Bethia, Issara, Dedy, Sukey, and Amana (girls).

Trades.

In a large number of instances the trade followed by deceased or by the parents of children brought to be baptised is given in these registers. Among others are the following:—Flecher [butcher], hylyar [tiler], glass carryar, strong water stiller, woadman, coffyman, musician, horsgelder, applemonger, schoole dame, picture drawer, barbor-surgion, shereman, freemason, woolwynder. Glovers appear to have been more numerous than shoemakers at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Other trades connected with leather were the tanners, curriers, and whittawers or whittors [dressers of sheep, dog, goat, deer, or horse leather, as opposed to ox and calf, which belonged to the domain of the tanner and currier]. The term Translator, which is very frequently used, refers to one whose business it was to convert old clothes into new! while the mysterious title, Ludi Magister, means simply Schoolmaster. Occasion-

ally men followed two occupations as was the case with John Corley, who is described as Laborer and Swepp-chimny; and Richard Denton, who was a Shoemaker and Surigion.

The *Second Register* contains a list of the baptisms and burials from 1721 to 1812; and of the marriages from 1721 to 1754. The title page bears this inscription:—

Registrum Parochiae Omnium Sanctorum Northamptoniae A° 1721.
 Benjamins King, Vicario.
 Georgio Tompson, } Guardianis.
 Ricardo Taylor }

The following extracts from the baptismal register are noteworthy:—

1741. March—Timothy son of Mr. Timothy Rogers (Attorney) born Feb. 9th and bapt^d March 8 as 't was certified by a servant maid to the Parish Clerk, but by what words, with what matter, or by what person, 't was not declared. N.B.—This remark respects not ye Birth but ye Baptism of ye child.
1752. January—Whereas the Supputation of the year of our Lord (in the church of England) did heretofore begin on the 21st day of March. It is now by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the 24th year of his Majesty's Reign and in the year of our Lord, 1751, to begin on the First day of January.
1752. Sept.—According to an Act of Parliament passed in the 24th year of his Majesty's Reign in the year of our Lord 1751, the old style ceases on the second day of this month and the new takes place. So that all the eleven intermediate nominal days from the second to the 14th are omitted, or rather annihilated this year: and the month contains but nineteen Days.
- 1777—Shadrach Meshach Abednego, son of Shadrach Meshach Abednego Smithers, and Martha his wife baptized Dec. 3rd.
- 1781—Henry De Graaff (a Black Serv^t of Mr. John De Graaff, late Governor of St. Eustatia, and a Prisoner here on his Parole) aged, as it seemed, near 30, was baptized Augst 11th.

The numerous references in this register to "soldiers" and "troopers" prove that Northampton was for many years a military garrison. The following are examples:—

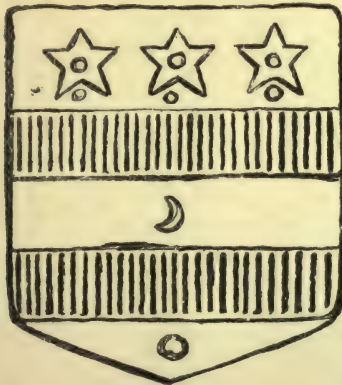
1726. Nov.—Philip, son of Mr. James Campbell (Quarter-Master of Horse in ye Duke of Argyle's Regiment) . . . bapt ye 20th day.
1731. June—Richard, son of Peter Van Howtuen, Trumpeter, in Captⁿ Lancaster's Troop in Lord Cobham's Regiment of Horse, buried ye 18 day.

1776. Sept.—John, son of Thomas Stanley, Quarter-Master in y^e 3rd Regim^t of Dragoon Guards and Elizabeth his wife (baptized) the 19th.

After the marriages, the register records the names of 129 persons interred in the Quakers' burying ground, between the years 1734 and 1767. Also of seventy persons buried "at the meeting in College Lane," and fifty "at the meeting on the Green," during the same period.

The King's Duty.

There are several references in the second register book to payments of the "king's duty." It was a stamp duty of threepence upon every entry in the register, and was imposed by Parliament in 1783. The Act was repealed in 1794 (34 George III., c. 11) which explains the entry—"Duty ceased" in the burial register, for September of that year.



ARMS OF WASHINGTON.



APPENDIX A.

(SEE PAGE 17.)

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum dei venerabilibus fratribus Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Londinensi et Eliensi episcopis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exposita nobis dilectorum filiorum Prioris et monachorum Sancti Andree de Northamptonia petitio continebat quod cum omnes ecclesias ejusdem ville canonice possideant auctoritate sibi apostolica confirmatas quidam de parrochiis ecclesiarum illarum capellas fundare, erigere altaria, et parrochianos suos ad divina officia et ad sepulturam etiam in eorum prejudicium recipere non formidant. Quoniam igitur omnibus volumus jura sua illibata servari presentium vobis auctoritate mandamus quatenus presumptores illos ut a tanta decetero temeritate desistant monitione premissa per censuram ecclesiasticam, sublato appellationis obstaculo ratione previa compellere non tardetis, nullis litteris veritati et justitie prejudicantibus sique apparuerint a sede apostolica impetrare. Quod si omnes hiis exequendis nequiveritis interesse duo vestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Dat Lateran viii. Idibus Aprilis Pontificatus nostri quarto. [MS. Charters, Northants. A 4, No. 7.]

APPENDIX B.

(SEE PAGE 26.)

CRUSADE OF PRINCE EDWARD.

"When Prince Edward assumed the cross at Northampton in 1268, the following English knights agreed to contribute loans towards the expense of the expedition, and to sail in company with him to the holy land :—

Henry of Germany, his cousin, and 14 knights..	1,500 marks
Roger de Leyburn and 9 knights.. ..	1,000 ..
Brian de Brampton and 1 knight	200 ..
Roger de Clifford and 9 knights	1,000 ..
Robert de Mounteny and 2 knights	300 ..
William Fitz-Warin and 2 knights	300 ..
Adam de Gesemuth and 5 knights	600 ..
Thomas de Clare and 9 knights	1,000 ..
Alan de Monte-Alto and 1 knight	200 ..
Walter de Huntercombe and 2 knights ..	300 ..
Walter de Percy and 3 knights	400 ..
William de Valence and 19 knights	2,000 ..
Richard de la Rokele and 2 knights	300 ..

Payne de Chaworth and 5 knights	..	600 marks
Robert Tipetot and 5 knights	.. ..	600 ..
Hamon L'Estrange, who followed the Prince		1,200 ..
Edmund, the King's brother, who was to follow		
likewise	.. ..	10,000 ..
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was		
likewise to follow	.. ..	1,000 ..

The number of knights, 104, corresponds very nearly with the number said to have received the cross from the hands of the legate Ottoboni at Northampton." [Hartshorne's *Enshrined Hearts*, p. 160.]

APPENDIX C.

(SEE PAGE 32.)

In the Episcopal Registers of Bishop William of Wykeham is the record of a warrant dated December 20th, 1380, for the appointment of collectors of the subsidy granted by Convocation in the church of All Saints, Northampton, at the rate of twenty groats from all dignitaries and priests, and three groats from all deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, and inferiors above the age of sixteen. [Wykeham's Registers vol. iv., fol. 15B.]

APPENDIX D.

(SEE PAGE 39.)

On December 19th, 1450, Thomas Salscot, bishop of Enachdun held an ordination in the church of All Saints, Northampton. He was a suffragan bishop of Lincoln, having been appointed to that office in 1449. At the time of the ordination the see of Lincoln was vacant, Bishop William Alnwick having died on December 5th. [Lansd. MSS. 1028, f. 192.]

APPENDIX E.

(SEE PAGE 47.)

CERTIFICATES OF GILDS, CHANCERY, No. 383.

GILD OF ST. MARY

Fraternitas Sancte Marie in capella Beate Marie
infra ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum de Norhamptonia.

Recital of
Writ.

Reverendo et discreto concilio metuendi domini regis
nostri illustris regis Anglie et Francie Thomas Pirye et

Johannes atte-Welle custodes servicii fraternitatis Beate Virginis Marie in capella ejusdem infra ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum Norhamptonie virtute ejusdam brevis domini nostri regis vicecomiti Norhamptonie directi et in burgo Norhamptonie proclamati vobis intimamus per presentes modum formamque inceptions servicii predicti in capella predicta continuacionis et regimenis ejusdem prout predicti brevis tenor exigit et requirit videlicet quod predictum servcium ad laudem et honorem Dei Omnipotentis glorioseque Virginis Marie Matris ejus et Omnium Sanctorum et pro salute corporum et animarum omnium Christianorum ante tempus memorie erat inchoatum. Et tunc per quosdam dicte ville burgenses talem habentes devocionem cupientes divini cultus augmentum ordinatum fuit quod unus capellanus idoneus quolibet die aurora missam de die cum memoria de Sancto Spiritu in principio et de Sancta Maria in fine misse in capella predicta devocius celebraret que vocatur le morow messe pro tranquillitate et salubri statu Regni regis et Regine Anglie et omnium procerum et magnatum ejusdem regni et sustentacione dictum servcium necnon pro animabus omnium Christianorum et eciam pro oportunitate et utilitate extraneorum et aliorum qui mane in negociis suis de villare voluerint . . . devocio continuata fuit usque tempus clare memorie domini regis E. primi quo tempore devocio fratrum predicti servicii et aliorum ibidem confluencium crevit et multiplicavit ita quod modo consimili unum alium capellanum idoneum in dicta capella cotidie divina celebratur pro statu et animabus supradictis ad horam primam ordinarunt vocatur le prime messe. Et sic eadem devocio et fraternitas multiplicata fuerunt ut premittitur et continueate usque tempus domini Edwardi Regis secundi proavi domini Regis nunc quo tempore devotissime extitit ordinatum quod tercius capellanus idoneus in dicta capella inter horam undecimam et nonam diei cum nota et magna solempnitate capellanorum et clericorum cotidie divina celebraret quam extranei laborantes et tarde villam venientes poterunt audire quando omnes alie misse in eadem villa finiuntur. Et ulterius quolibet die Martis in capella predicta in honore Sancti Thome Martiris Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Beate Virginis Marie et Omnium Sanctorum quedam alia missa solempniter cum nota celebratur. Et insuper quolibet nocte circa solis occasum in honore dicte Virginis gloriose solempniter cantatur quedam antiphona videlicet Salve Regina cum usibus et oracionibus consuetis et post illam antiphonam quedam alia antiphona qualibet nocte cum voce organica sufflacione organorum et magna solempnitate cantatur. Ad quas quidem antiphonas copiosa gentium concurrunt multitudo se in oracionibus et suffragiis suis prosternentes. Eciam vero quolibet anno in die cujuslibet festi quinque vigiliarum gloriose Virginis prelibate post vespas Placebo et Dirige cum missa de requiem in crastino cum nota dicuntur. Et sic omnes et singule devociones predictae cum suffragiis sequentibus pro salubri statu et tranquillitate regni regis et regine Anglie procerum et magnatum ejusdem et sustentante dictum divinum servcium ac pro animabus omnium progenitorum benefactorum suorum et fidelium defunctorum fiunt in forma prenotata. Et nullas habent libertates nec privilegia, neque fratres dicte fraternitatis seu aliqui eorundem faciunt nec

Founded beyond memory of man.

A fit chaplain to say Morrow Mass daily.

In temp. Ed. I. a second chaplain appointed. to celebrate "le prime Mass."

Temp. Ed. II. A third chaplain to celebrate Mass between 9 and 11 a.m.

So that visitors to town could hear Mass when other Masses were all over. A Mass in Honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Daily at Sunset antiphons in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

On all five festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Evensong is said on eve with Placebo and Dirige and Mass of Requiem on morrow,

habent aliqua convivia assemblaciones liberaciones statuta usus consuetudines sacramenta sive congregaciones quascumque sed tantummodo ut semel per annum audiatur compotus custodum dictorum servicii et fraternitatis qui pro tempore fuerint, ut alii custodes si necesse fuerit eligantur ut sciatur quod dictum servicium absque defectum fuerit sustentatum. Et hec est forma incepcionis gubernacionis et continuacionis servicii et fraternitatis in capella prenotata. Dominationi eciam vestre reverende certificamus quod nulla terre tenementa redditus seu servicia mortificata vel non mortificata pertinent fraternitati neque capelle predictæ set dicimus quod Henricus Lavendon Thomas Sutton Thomas Pirye et Johannes atte Welle sunt seisiti in diversis terris tenementis et redditibus in Norhamptonia Duston Myddelton Colyngtre Wotton et Hardyngesthorn per diversos feoffatores sibi heredibus et assignatis eorum imperpetuum tenendis de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta que valent per annum quadraginta marcas et aliqua prout occupantur per tenentes et prout tenementa reparacione indigent, ea intentione quod redditus et proficua inde proveniencia disponantur in auxilium sustentacionis servicii predicti in forma prenotata prout superius est declaratum. Ita quod cessantibus divino servicii et fraternitate predictis bene liceat feoffatis predictis heredibus et assignatis suis omnia terras et tenementa predicta cum omnibus suis pertinentibus quicumque voluerint vendere et pecunias inde per eas recipiendas in pios usus pro animabus omnium donatorum tenementorum predictorum pro servicio predicto sustentando prout eis melius videbitur expedire disponere et ordinare. Et eciam venerabilis in Christo pater dominus Willelmus de Wykeham Wyntoniensis Episcopus seisitus fuit in feodo simplici de aliis terris et tenementis in Norhamptonia que valent per annum quadraginta solidos ad plus et aliquando minus pro defectu tenencium et pro reparacione eorundem. Et idem dominus episcopus per cartam suam dedit et concessit terras et tenementa sua predicta Johanni Swynstede, Hugoni Whitacre, Thome Pirie, Johanni atte Welle, et aliis habendum et tenendum eis heredibus et assignatis eorum imperpetuum de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta sub intentione quod exitus et proficua inde proveniencia disponantur in auxilium sustentacionis devocionis servicii predicti. Et habent bona et catalla in plumbo et maeremio ad valenciam centum solidorum

Once a year the accounts of the wardens are examined and other wardens chosen.

No lands, dues, etc.

Henry Lavendon and others hold various lands in trust worth forty marks.

If the fraternity dies out it is lawful to sell the lands.

And the money devoted to pious uses.

William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester gave lands worth 40s. by charter to trustees for the gild.

Goods in lead and timber worth 100 shillings.

APPENDIX F.

(See PAGE 50)

CERTIFICATES OF GILDS, CHANCERY, No. 380.

GILD OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

Norhamptonia.

Recital of the Writ.

Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino domino Thome permissione divina Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Anglie Primati ac illustrissimi domini nostri Regis Anglie Cancellario,

Privileges of the town recited.

Right of leaving legacies to lights, altars, etc.

Gild Founded 24 Ed. III.

General procession of regulars and seculars on Corpus Christi day.

Meet at All Saints church clad in one livery and with lighted torches.

At High Mass pray for King, nobles, etc. and benefactors.

Feast ordered.

Now discontinued.

Vespers, Placebo, and Dirige and a Mass of Requiem be sung.
A chaplain to celebrate Mass

Fremundus de la Port et Simon Spicer custodes fraternitatis Corporis Christi de Norhamptonia, omnimodas reverencias tanto patri debitas cum honore. Virtute cujusdam brevis domini Regis vicecomiti Norhamptonie in hoc casu directi et in burgo Norhamptonie proclamati modum et formam incepcionis gubernacionis et continuacionis fraternitatis predicte vestre dominationi reverende tenore presencium declaramus prout dictum breve exigit et requirit. Villa Norhamptonia est antiquus burgus domini Regis et talem habet consuetudinem a toto tempore quo non extat memoria usitatam hactenus et approbatam quod omnes ejusdem ville burgenses in ultima voluntate sua libere et absque impedimento possint legare terras tenementa redditus et servicia que habent ex acquisitionibus suis quibuscunque personis voluerint tam regularibus quam secularibus et eciam tam ecclesiis altaribus luminaribus quam aliis locis ad inveniendum capellanos vel aliquod aliud divinum servicium pro animabus suis vel antecessorum suorum faciendum : et ista consuetudo ibidem sic usitata et approbata existit. Dominationi vestre insuper intimamus quod anno domini regis Edwardi avi domini nostri regis nunc vicesimo quarto, quidam burgenses ville Northamptonie talem habebant devocionem quod in honore Dei Omnipotentis gloriose Virginis Marie et omnium sanctorum ac precipue ob reverenciam et laudem illius sacracissimi et venerabilis sacramenti corporis Christi quod in sacro consecratur altari quamdam processionem generalem tam universorum religiosorum et regularium quam secularium quorumcunque ejusdem ville et aliorum plurimorum confluencium die corporis Christi ante magnam missam hora solita per totum ambitum ville dictum sacracissimum corpus dominicum cum magna solempnitate et reverentia deferendo devotissime, inchoari et fieri ordinarunt. Qui quidem burgenses ob reverenciam illius venerabilis sacramenti ante processionem per ipsas sic inceptam et ad ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum Norh. congregati et de una secta vestiti torcheas in eorum manibus accensas portantes dictum venerabile sacramentum in tota processione reverencius quo poterunt perambulant et precedunt et magne misse illius diei in ecclesia prelibata oraciones et suffragia sua pro salubri statu et tranquillitate domini nostri regis [et] regine Anglie procerum et magnatum ejusdem ac omnium benefactorum suorum fundentes et post offertorium misse offerentes torchis suis circa dictum venerabile sacramentum usque misse consummacionem ardentibus intersunt personaliter et consistunt. Et sic solebant eodem die in augmentum amoris et devocionis adinvicem manducare quilibet eorum sumptibus suis propriis pro suo repastu ibidem satisfaciens indilate. Set nunc per plures annos elapsos hujusmodi commestio et quodlibet aliud convivium penitus sunt dimissa. Consummatis vero illius diei vespers, Placebo et Dirige et missa de Requiem in crastino cum nota fieri et cantari insuper ordinarunt residentibus illis in suffragis et oracionibus suis pro salubribus statibus pace et tranquillitate predictis quousque ibidem omnia finiantur. Deinde unum capellanum ydoneum in ecclesia prefixa divina continue celebratur pro salubribus statibus pace et tranquillitate prenotatis ac pro benefactoribus suis et fidelibus defunctis devocius providebant. Et postmodum crescente et considerata devocione predicta

A second
chaplain
appointed.

On day of burial
each to cause a
Mass to be said
for the dead.

A poor brother
to be helped to
100 shillings or
more.

Once a year to
meet together
to audit
accounts of
wardens and to
elect new
wardens.

They have no
other privileges
or customs.

They have no
other charters,
etc., or lands.

But lands
worth £7 given
by John
Bugbrok and
William
Broughton to
trustees.

If gild comes to
an end, lawful
to sell the lands
etc. for good of
their souls.

No other goods
or chattels in
hand.

There is a debt
to last wardens
of £4 3s. 6d.

quidam alii burgenses ejusdem ville seipsos coadjutores et contributarios eidem devocioni fide sua media illam pro posse eorundem sustentandam promittentes unanimi assensu substituebant et tunc modo consimili unum alium capellanum in forma premissa divina cotidie celebraturum fervencius ordinabant. Et sic fraternitas Corporis Christi Norh. primitus nominabatur devocio supradicta. Expirante quoque finaliter quocunque fratre devocionis predicte idem defunctus per reliquos fratres suos torchiis suis accensis venerabiliter prout decet ecclesiastice traditur sepulture et eodem die quilibet fratrum predictorum pro salute anime ipsius defuncti unam missam de requiem facit celebrari. Accidente eciam quocunque dictorum fratrum in nimiam inopiam, ita quod non sit ex sua temeritate seu neglegentia voluntaria, tunc reliqui fratres sui ex eorum elemosinaria contribucione ipsum sic inoperem solent usque ad summum centum solidorum vel amplius relevare. Et quolibet anno dicti fratres semel conveniunt ad tantummodo audiendum videntum compotum custodum qui pro tempore fuerint et sustentationem devocionis predicte et insuper pro novis custodibus elegendis. At sic nulla alia habentur in hac parte liberationes sacramenta assemblaciones convivia seu congregaciones quaecunque, nec habent aliqua privilegia vel libertates neque sint statuta ordinationes usus vel consuetudines ultra formam et modum superius expressatos. Et hec est forma inceptionis gubernacionis et continuacionis fraternitatis predicte. Vestram reverendam dominationem ulterius certificamus quod nulla terre tenementa redditus possessiones vel servicia mortificata vel non mortificata pertinent fraternitati predicto nec habent cartas ex concessione domini regis seu progenitorum suorum. Set dicimus quod Johannes Bucbrok et Willelmus de Broughton et alii seisisi fuerunt in feodo simplici de terris tenementis et redditibus in Norhamptonia et Duston que valent per annum in omnibus exitibus septem libras ultra reprisas et aliquando minus pro defectu tenencium. Et predicti Johannes Bucbrok Willelmus de Broughton et alii per feoffamenta sua dederunt et concesserunt Roberto Wendlyngburgh Thome de Sutton Johanni Malpas Ricardo Raulyns et aliis omnia terras tenementa et redditus supra dicta cum suis pertinenciis. Habendum et tenendum eis heredibus et assignatis eorum imperpetuum de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta ea intencione ut exitus et proficua inde annuatim provenienciam in sustentationem devocionis et servicii superius declarati disponantur et cessante dicta fraternitate vel devocione et servicio prenotatis alio modo subtractis bene liceat dictis feoffatis heredibus et assignatis eorum omnino prefata terras tenementa et redditus in Norhamptonia vendere dare legare et assignare ac dicta terras tenementa et redditus in dicta villa de Duston cum pertinenciis vendere dare et assignare quibuscunque voluerint pro salute animarum suarum ac primorum donatorum feoffancium antecessorum suorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum. Bona vero seu catalla nulla sunt in manibus nostris nec aliorum quoruncunque ad usum fraternitatis predicte. Set debentur ultimis custodibus ejusdem fraternitatis de excessibus suis anno ultimo jam elapso factis in racionabilibus expensis iijl. iij^s. vjd. ob. prout per compotum suum ad festum Sancti

Given on the Michaelis ultimo preterito redditum liquet manifeste. Datum
 Feast of Norhamptonia sub sigillis nostris die Lune in festo Con-
 Conversion of versionis Sancti Pauli anno regni regis Ricardi Secundi post
 St. Paul, conquestum duodecimo.
 12 Rich. II.

APPENDIX G.

(SEE PAGE 70.)

THE COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS.

William Rushden, draper, by his will dated 1466, leaves his body to be buried in the churchyard of All Saints, Northampton. To William Breton (vicar), 20/- "Item, lego sacerdotibus et consortibus suis collegii dicte ecclesie in generali recreatione inter eos habendos ad specialiter orandum pro salute anime mee, xls.

[Bishop Kennet's collections, Lansd. MSS. 1028.]

APPENDIX H.

(SEE PAGE 182.)

JOHN COCKAIN, VICAR OF ALL SAINTS.

Among the wills in the Peterborough Probate Office is one in which the testator describes himself as "John Cockain of the towne of Northton, clarke of the church and of All Saints." In the margin of the will and in the index, the words "vicar of All Saints, Northampton" have been added in a later hand. There seems little doubt that the title is correct and that John Cockain was the successor of Ralph Persall, who died 1559-60. A careful search in the Episcopal Registers at Peterborough and in the First-fruits Composition Books and in the Subsidy Rolls in the Public Record Office has failed to throw any further light on this subject. The will of John Cockain is dated August 14th, 1570, and was proved October 28th, 1570.

In the Burial Register of All Saints the following entry occurs:—"August, 1570—Willms (John?) Cockyn clericus sepultus fuit decimo nono die."



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